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THROUGH BURMAH TO WESTERN CHINA

THIRD OR LOWER DEFILE OF THE IRAWADDI. *Frontispiece.*

THROUGH BURMAH TO WESTERN CHINA

BEING

NOTES OF A JOURNEY IN 1863

TO ESTABLISH THE PRACTICABILITY OF A TRADE-ROUTE
BETWEEN THE IRAWADDI AND THE YANG-TSE-KIANG

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BY

CLEMENT WILLIAMS

FORMERLY ASSISTANT-SURGEON IN THE 68TH LIGHT INFANTRY, AND
FIRST POLITICAL AGENT AT MANDALAY TO THE CHIEF
COMMISSIONER OF BRITISH BURMAH

WILLIAM BLACKWOOD AND SONS
EDINBURGH AND LONDON
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PREFACE.

THIS volume appears under circumstances which claim, in an especial manner, the indulgent consideration of the reader. The author being at present in Burmah—where he has been mainly resident since 1858—has had no opportunity for revision, nor indeed for doing more than merely indicate in a general way what might be selected from his jottings and journals to vindicate his claim to the first suggestion of a trade-route between the upper waters of the Irawaddi and those of the Yang-tse-kiang. A route between our Indian possessions and Western China has long been talked of—some suggesting a connection between the head-waters of the Brahmapootra and those of the Yang-tse-kiang, others indicating a more southerly route from Calcutta by Cachar and Munnipore; some taking their point of departure from Rangoon, and seeking chiefly the southern provinces of China; while others take their starting-point from Ava, and seek to reach the south-western districts by a land journey through the passes of the Kakhyeen hills. Hearing of the old caravan journeys between Upper Burmah and

Western China, Dr Williams, while on duty at the Burmese capital in 1860-61, conceived the idea of personally testing the practicability of a modern route by the Irawaddi as far as navigable, and thence across the narrowest part of the watershed to Yunan, or other available point on the Chinese frontier. To this object he bent his determination for more than a couple of years—securing his way step by step through all the jealousies and obstructions of the Burmese officials—and at length, towards the end of 1862, having gained the personal friendship of the King, he received the royal commission to prosecute his journey of research. For this purpose he started in January 1863, ascending the Irawaddi as far as the Upper Defile beyond Bamò, and making a sketch-survey of the river during the voyage.

While at Bamò, Dr Williams made excursions to the Taping and other tributaries of the Irawaddi, conversing freely with Shans, Kakhyeens, and Chinese, and obtaining all that could be learned from them, both orally and by sketch-maps, of the routes that lay between Bamò and the Chinese frontier, and of the nature of the trade that was carried on by their caravans. Being the first Englishman, if not indeed the first European, who had visited this portion of Upper Burmah, his presence naturally attracted considerable notice and apprehension; and through the jealousy of the principal official at Bamò, who affected to have

doubts as to the real meaning of the King's mandate, he was unwillingly detained during the greater portion of March and April, till a new order could be obtained from his Majesty at Mandalay. During this enforced delay opportunities were afforded for observing the manners and customs of the Northern Burmans and adjacent hill-tribes; but, unfortunately for the chief object of the journey, before the new permission arrived at Bamò, an insurrection had broken out at the capital, and Dr Williams (now appointed Political Agent to the Chief Commissioner of British Burmah) was recalled, the King urgently demanding his presence during the crisis.

Though disappointed in his effort to reach the Chinese frontier, Dr Williams had learned enough to convince him of the practicability of a trade-route; and on his return to Mandalay forwarded a Memorandum to the Indian Government in advocacy of his opinions, and otherwise took measures to bring the subject before the trading public. At this juncture, however, and while advancing our interests, political and commercial, with the Burman Government (a task for which he was peculiarly fitted, from his thorough knowledge of Burmese character, and from having gained the confidence of the King and Ministers), he was requested to resign the position he had made by his own tact and ability, and to return to his duties in the regiment,—the forms of the Service, it was alleged, rendering this step neces-

sary. Not feeling inclined to do this, Dr Williams, shortly after, and while in England for a few months, resigned his army appointment, preferring to return to Burmah in a private capacity. During these changes, and more especially during the political complications which subsequently arose at Mandalay, the suggestion of a trade-route by Bamò was in a great measure lost sight of, or at all events mingled up with railway and other impracticable projects. More recently, however, the subject has been forced upon the attention of the British authorities by the efforts of the French in the same direction (by the Cambodia river), and a large sum has been voted for an expedition (under Captain Sladen) to test still further the Bamò route, but ignoring to a great extent what had been accomplished by the sole and unaided efforts of our author. Unwilling that his suggestions should be altogether overlooked, and anxious, moreover, to bring the matter more fully before the public, Dr Williams has consented to the publication of as much of his Journal and Papers as bear more directly on the question, and the result is the present volume.

The volume consists of three main parts:—

I. Dr Williams's advocacy of a trade-route from India to Western China *viâ* Burmah, which appeared in his Memorandum to the Indian Government, and subsequently in the 'Journal of the Bengal Asiatic Society' for 1864, and which is here reproduced, with

such remarks and additions as events have rendered necessary;

II. The journal of his voyage up the Irawaddi and residence at Bamò during January, February, March, and April 1863, and which contains the main body of the information upon which the advocacy of the Upper Burmah route is founded; and,

III. A vindication of his suggestion of a simple "trade-route" (the best way, in fact, to open trade into Western China), against the misrepresentations of those who confounded it with railway routes and other schemes of transit through Burmah to China, and then pronounced against its practicability!

The subject is of immense importance to the mercantile community in general, and to our Indian possessions in particular; and as attention is now officially directed to the matter, the public may take interest in Dr Williams's early and unaided endeavours, and all the more that his long and intimate acquaintance with Burmah and the Burmese entitles him to speak with something like authority. Beyond his own friends and the officials of our Indian Government, the efforts of the author to prove the practicability of the Bamò route are little known—so little, that in recent and able articles in the reviews ('Edinburgh' and 'Saturday') making a general advocacy of "A Road into Western China," there is even no mention of his name.* Partly

* See Appendix A.

to render Dr Williams's efforts better known, and partly also to establish his claims to the first practical suggestion of the route in question, this volume has been published; and it will be a source of satisfaction to the author's friends should it in any degree fulfil the end for which it is intended.

It will be seen, on perusal, that these pages have been restricted as much as possible to the subject of a trade-route through Burmah to Western China, the compiler being unwilling to trench on the general subject of Burmah—a theme on which, in all its aspects, social, political, and industrial, no one can be better qualified to enter than Dr Williams. His long residence in the country, his position as Political Agent, and, above all, that family intimacy which none but a medical man can secure, have given him opportunities for observation which have fallen perhaps to the lot of no other Englishman. It is to be earnestly hoped, therefore, that he may soon find leisure to give the public the results of his experience in a field so novel and interesting as that of Burmah Proper and its conterminous dependencies—a region whose aspects and relationships, physical, political, social, and industrial, are as yet little known to us, notwithstanding the important interests we hold, and the power we are gradually acquiring, in Further India.

BRISTOL, *May* 1868.

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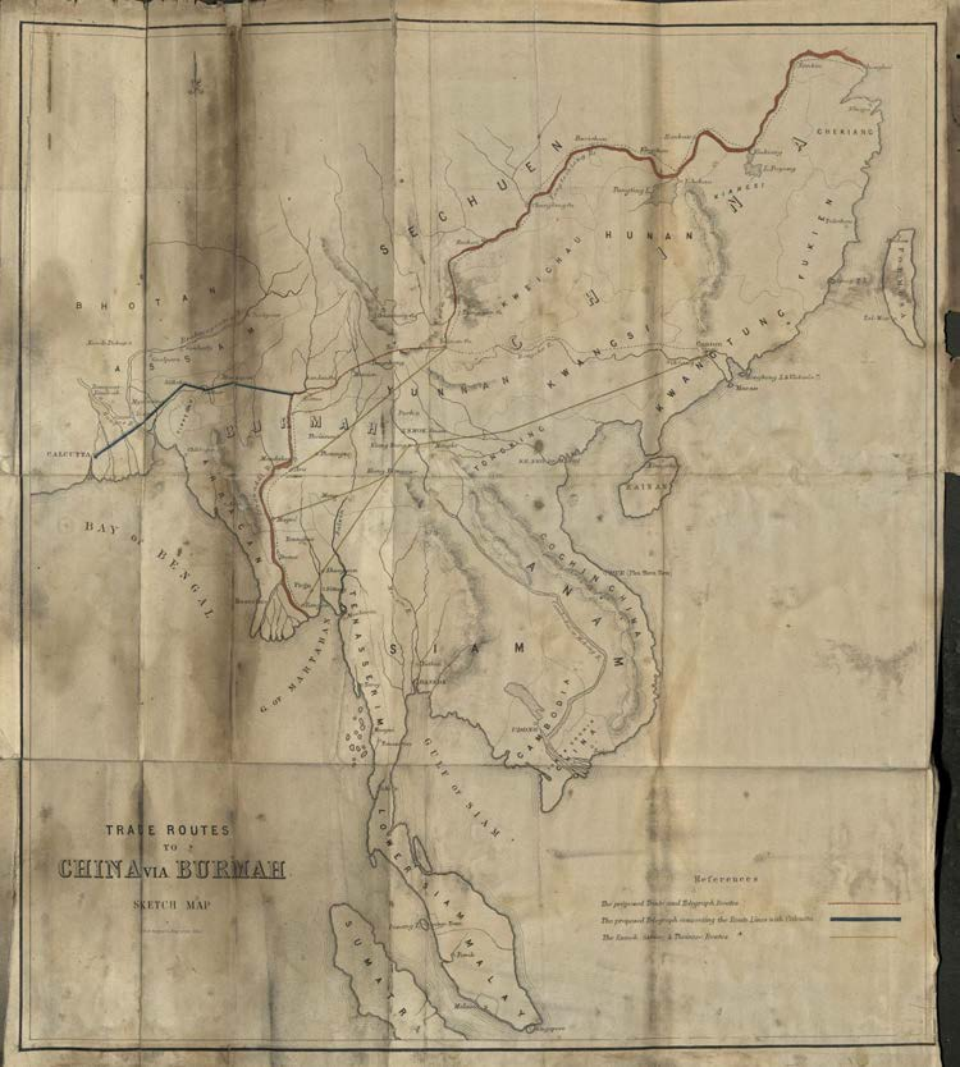
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I.

TRADE AND TELEGRAPH ROUTES TO WESTERN CHINA VIA BURMAH

TRADE AND TELEGRAPH ROUTES TO WESTERN CHINA VIA BURMAH.

In a Memorandum to the Indian Government, and which subsequently appeared in the 'Journal of the Bengal Asiatic Society' for 1864, and dated from Mandalay, this subject was treated by me at considerable length and under the following heads, which I still retain as placing the matter in the simplest and most intelligible light:—

I. The Political State of the several countries between the Bay of Bengal and Central China.

II. The Physical Geography of the districts proposed to be traversed by the various lines of communication.

III. Their Commercial Condition and Capabilities, including population, products, former and existing trade, &c.

IV. The conclusion, from consideration of the preceding subjects, as to which is the most desirable and practicable route.

The arguments then employed are here simply reproduced, with such additional information, in footnotes, as I have since gleaned from other sources, and

with such corroboration or modification as the very checkered course of events in Burmah have enabled me to supply.

I.—Political State of the several Countries.

1. Pegu, Martaban, and Tenasserim, with their rivers and ports, being permanent portions of British territory, and all, therefore, but insuperable physical obstacles, being under the direct control of the British authorities, it is needless to consider their political condition.

2. The state of the political relations of Burmah Proper with the British Government of India, up to the end of 1862, has, I believe, had much to do with the direction which public attention has hitherto taken in looking for the desired opening into Western China. Up to that time the Burmese Government, unwilling to acknowledge, in any way, the stubborn fact of the province of Pegu being British territory, had obstinately rejected the repeated overtures of the Indian Government to the settlement of a permanent peace, and had, in fact, behaved towards that Government in a spirit of passive hostility.

3. At the time of first turning my thoughts to a career in Burmah, and especially in Upper Burmah, one of the prospects most distinctly in my view was that of the old route to China by the Irawaddi being reopened and made available to British commerce, by an alteration of the then existing feelings and intentions of the Burman Government towards the British.*

* I may remark that when these ideas suggested themselves—viz., while studying Burmese literature at Thayetmyo, in 1860, and learn-

This is not the place to enter into a history of the changes gradually produced in the minds of the chief authorities of Burmah Proper. Suffice it to note that the political position, as bearing on this question, is now totally different from what it was during the decade succeeding the last Burman war. The envoy of the Viceroy and Governor-General has negotiated a treaty wherein the British and Burmese Governments are declared friends, and trade in and through Upper Burmah is freely thrown open to British mercantile enterprise. Arrangements are there made by which our direct trade with China may be carried on through Upper Burmah without any harassing restrictions, and subject only to a transit due of 1 per cent, *ad valorem*, on Chinese exports, and *nil* on imports. A British agent resides at the Burmese court, acknowledged and conferred with by the Burmese Government under the title in their own language of "Agent to the English Minister,"*—whose functions are precisely those of a consul and *chargé-d'affaires*—taking his instructions from the Chief Commissioner of British Burmah.

4. No one acquainted with the history of the former relations between the Burmese and British Government, can fail to see in this the proof that there has taken place, within the last three years (1860-64), a substantial revolution in the political position of Upper

ing of the extensive trade which formerly existed between China and Burmah—I had no knowledge of the fact that others had long before formed plans with a similar object.

* The Burmese translation of Chief Commissioner, referring to his political capacity as agent to the Governor-General, is "Ayebein Woongyee," a term only applied among themselves to the minister who has the conduct of political affairs, which minister is invariably the chief Woongyee, or vizier.

Burmah; and that, in looking for routes into Western China, that country must be now regarded in a light not only different from what was formerly the true one, but almost the very opposite. There is no longer a hostile government, shutting up its territory and excluding British trade. The Burman Government is now a friendly one, *inviting* British trade; and not only willing to open to it the highway to China, but fully alive to the advantages that commerce through its territory would confer both on the monarch and the people. Burmah Proper is no longer a barrier, but a gangway, open to the use of whoever will avail themselves of it.*

5. To the east and north-east of the frontier of British Burmah, hanging about, so to speak, the lower and middle Salween, are several tribes of various Karen races, some of them acknowledging British, others Burman suzerainty, and others not only really but nominally quite independent. Their character is

* Since the above was written several changes have taken place, but they have all been more or less progressive in character. The recent rebellion in Burmah Proper has certainly impoverished and weakened the country. The refusal of the Burman Government to accept the treaty recently proposed has given rise also to grave apprehensions. Bearing in mind the circumstances of the time, there is much to be said, however, in vindication of the King's conduct on this occasion. But the present policy of Government, carried out as it is by the able men to whom its execution is intrusted, has already produced most beneficial effects. Indeed, I feel myself in a position to state with confidence that we are on the eve of such further treaty-arrangement as will give greater security and new facilities to merchants who trade in Burmah Proper, or who will help to push our trade into China. British subjects will henceforth enjoy the jurisdiction of their own officials, perfect freedom to trade in every article of produce, and complete immunity from all the excessive and irregular imposts that have hitherto harassed them and cramped the development of the trade. (25th April 1867.)

as wild as the mountains they inhabit. The converts to Christianity, extraordinary as has been the success of the American missionaries among these tribes, are as yet comparatively too few to alter the general character of the Karen chiefs and people.

6. Passing over the Salween valley, and approaching the northern portions of the Cambodia, there are found Shan states tributary to Burmah, and acknowledging their vassalage, with a reality in the inverse ratio of their distance from the Burmese capital. To the west of these Shan states are others whose comparative proximity to the Irawaddi makes them more substantially submissive to the Burmese Government. The Salween may be said to be the line, westwards of which the sovereignty is real, while eastwards it is merely nominal. The Tsaubwas, or hereditary rulers of these various states, are independent of each other; and it is this fact, with the frequent strifes between them, and even between the several members of one Tsaubwa's family, that explains the success of the Burman policy in regard to them. This policy is simply "*divide et impera.*"

Crossing the Cambodia, other Shan states are met with, tributary to China; and finally, the north boundary of Siamese territory, the western frontiers of Anam, the southern limits of China Proper, and the eastern Burman boundaries, are separated by Shans whose allegiance to either of these four Powers is very ill defined.

7. The most important matter, perhaps, for consideration in this division, is the condition of those parts of China we desire to reach,—viz., Yunan and Sechuen.

8. Unfortunately the province of Yunan has for some eight years past been the scene of a fierce struggle between the orthodox Chinese and Tartar officials on the one hand, and the Mohammedan insurgents on the other. To quote my letters dated from Bamò in 1863,—"The Mussulman Chinese, or '*Pansees*,' as they are called, seem to have first suffered what they deemed oppression and persecution. The fierce tenets of their faith soon led them to resistance, and being but a handful in the midst of their Buddhist fellow-subjects, they had to flee *en masse* to the jungles and hills, whence they commenced a dacoity-war on the Chinese towns and villages. The Mussulmans were bound together by their common peril, and afforded another instance of the strengthening influence of a vigorous religious belief, by the success they everywhere met with in combating their numerous but enervated enemies. These successes soon attracted to their side a crowd of the innumerable class who had nothing to lose and were anxious to gain. To these the Pansees gave ample encouragement by abandoning to pillage every conquered town. Not numbering among themselves more than 20,000 fighting men, they have now at their command armies amounting to between two and three hundred thousand of Chinese, Shans, and people of the wild hill-tribes, Kakhyeens, &c. The war has become a struggle that has devastated the country, destroyed commerce, and rendered life and property utterly insecure. The captured cities were dealt with in truly Oriental style, of which particulars are needless. The leaders and their Mussulman co-religionists seem to have restrained themselves from debauchery, in order the

better to handle the hordes of villains at their command. The Pekin authorities, it is well known, have had enough on their hands elsewhere, and seem to have made no efforts to support the local government. In Western Yunan, at least, this has been, in consequence, completely upset, and the Pansees have formed a regular government of their own to replace it. The seat of this new Mussulman power is at Tali, the second city of the province. In that city now resides the Pansee king. The system of government is as yet purely military, the country being under the roughest kind of martial law. The king is called Tuwintseu. His chief officer, Sophutyangin, has the management of affairs at Momien, a large Chinese town close to the Shan states, west of Yunan; and another commander, Tawsuntutu, is stationed at Yunchang. Many of the high commands are given to Chinese and Shans who have committed themselves to their side." *

9. From conversations, at Bamò and Mandalay, with various persons more or less the accredited agents of the Pansee Government, I am convinced that it is the earnest desire of that Government to reopen the trade with Burmah. Through these same agents the Pansee authorities will have also been enlightened as to the purely commercial views the British authorities have in regard to their territories, and the solid advantages that will accrue to them if they facilitate the opening of the routes and afford due protection to the Chinese traders.

* From information I have procured during the past year (1867), I cannot but think that this Pansee ascendancy in Western Yunan is, for the present, or until the Emperor of China can spare an overwhelming force to destroy it, firmly established.

10. The province of Sechuen, not less important to us than Yunan, is, as far as I am aware, unaffected by the Pansee rebellion.

11. To the west of Yunan Proper is a small cluster of Shan towns under their several hereditary chiefs or Tsaubwas, commonly called the *Shan Shee pyee*, or eight Shan States. They are, beginning at the north, Maintee, Sanda, Mainla, Hossa, Lassa, Mowun, Maingmo, and Kaingma. These formerly belonged to the Burman Empire, but were lost in the time of Shingpyu Shing, about 1769. On the Pansee rebellion breaking out, the insurgents did not find it difficult to obtain partisans among the disputants invariably found in the families of the hereditary Shan Tsaubwas. By such influence they contrived to make a peaceable submission to their sovereignty in place of the Chinese. Many of the Shan chiefs are actually in their service, —the Nantia Tsaubwa, for instance, who is a Pansee officer under the name of *Taututu*, and the Lookhyang Tsaubwa, under the title of *Siyintutu*. The temptation to oppression was, however, too strong; and several of the Shan towns, unable to put up with the penalties of Mussulman domination, have again thrown off their allegiance to their new masters, and assisted the Chinese commanders still holding out against the Pansees. At Bamò I often conversed with inhabitants of these Shan districts, and gathered from what they told me that any settlement would be welcome to them that would save them from being a prey to two enemies at once.

12. Not unnaturally, the Burmese Government has been led to think of resuming its former position in reference to these Shan states, important for their

teeming population, rich lands, and situation; and I am informed by H.M. the King of Burmah that some of the Shan towns have invited him to take them into his dominions and under his protection. As "*quieta non movere*" is, however, a maxim now in much force in Burman policy, it is not probable that Burman dominions will grow in that direction.* Were these provinces, however, to become Burman territory, the political obstacles to communication would be very much diminished, not only by so much more of the route being under friendly Burman rule, but by the Kakhyeen tribes on the hills being then pinched in between Burman authority on both sides, and thus more easily compelled to respect the lives and property of travellers, and cease their mischievous hindrances to trade across their mountains.

13. The Kakhyeens above alluded to are a portion of the vast horde of Singphos that inhabit the mountainous districts of Northern Assam, and stretch round the north of Burmah into Western China. These extend not only all along the northern frontier, but dip down southward wherever the mountain-ranges lead them,

* Up to the present time, these unfortunate provinces are in much the same condition. The same desire for peace actuates the inhabitants. Many have actually come over and settled in Burman territory, the Burman Government having assigned to the immigrants free grants of land in the Bamô district. Deputations have even recently come to the Burman court asking for protection and offering allegiance. The state of affairs to-day is in fact almost exactly what it was in 1863. The neighbouring Governments are all weak and unstable. They have neither the strength nor the energy to bring tranquillity and order out of the local chaos. A judicious use of our neutral position, aided by the moral weight of our recognised strength, is just what is needed to bring about the end that all parties now vainly desire.

even to half-way between Bamò and the capital. They have ousted many Shan tribes, particularly "Paloungs," from the hill districts; and wherever they appear they assume the same character of lords of all they can reach, and are only to be appeased by some form of black-mail. In proportion as their locations are within reach of Burman troops, the chiefs acknowledge themselves vassals of the Burmese King. How strong the tie was even in vigorous Tharrawaddi's time may be judged of from an anecdote. One of the chiefs of the hills north of Shweygoo was honoured with special dignity by that king, whose golden foot he had worshipped at the capital itself; but having some few years afterwards incurred the displeasure of the Burman ministers, they ordered the local governor to call him, take away his chieftainship, and give it to another. The chief came down to Shweygoo, but on hearing why he had been sent for, spat on the ground, saying, "When I take that spittle again into my mouth the King may take back the rank he gave me;" and returned to his hills and to his Tsaubwaship, ruling with increased rather than diminished prestige.

The tie is at present still more slender. The Kakhyeens, as the Burmese call these Singphos, levy black-mail even to within six miles of Bamò, the seat of a Burman governor of the rank of a Woongyee. They inspire such terror, that in the neighbouring plains no Burman nor Shan will venture alone, or even in company, unarmed, along the roads within their reach.

The communities now under remark, inhabiting the range of hills between the Bamò and Momeit valley and the plains and valleys of the eight Shan states, are identical in race and language with the Singphos of

Assam.* They belong to various tribes; they obey no common authority, but are divided into numerous little clans, each with its own chief, and each perfectly independent of the others. Some of these chiefs rule a country of a thousand families, others but a few score. They are frequently at feud with one another, and are habitually ready for strife. Their people invariably carry arms, and have among them great numbers of matchlocks of Chinese and their *own manufacture.*

14. The Burmese frontier is still officially supposed to be on the east side of these Kakhyeen hills, and but a few years ago there were Burmese and Chinese stockades on the western and eastern sides of a little stream, the Lueyline, that marked the limit between the respective territories. Although this outpost has been withdrawn, and the Burmese have now no troops farther east than Bamò, the Kakhyeen chiefs still acknowledge, in theory, the Burmese suzerainty; those near Bamò coming into the town at the call of the governor, and to a certain extent obeying his orders.

15. The Shan villagers along the Taping creek assured me that fifty years ago there were scarcely any Kakhyeens in those hills, but peaceful Paloungs, who have been gradually displaced by them. Signs of former population and extensive culture obtrude themselves upon the attention of the traveller, and corroborate the native assertion that the Kakhyeen nuisance is one of only recent growth. The inhabitants very naturally, and perhaps very justly, throw the blame on the Burman Government, whose local officials, careful only for

* A list of their commonest words which I made at Bamò, I found to be almost word for word the same as the list of Assam-Singpho vocables published in the Asiatic Society's Journal.

the revenue of to-day, neglect the duty of protecting the people, and leave them, their lands and their property, a prey to these wild depredators, whose power for mischief might be not only curtailed, but effectually destroyed, were a little timely energy used towards them.

16. In the late conflicts between the Chinese and the Pansees, these Kakhyeens have often mixed. More generally favourable to the Pansees, because they are rebels against the Chinese, who used often to punish them, they have now and then helped, in their very rough way, either side, according as their immediate interests prompted. Their feelings towards the Chinese may be imagined from what the Chinese themselves told me: "In old times," say they, "the Kakhyeens, on our side of the frontier, were much afraid of the Chinese officials. How many villages have we burnt, and how many men have we killed, to punish their robberies of our caravans! Several thousand men would go up and surround a village which had committed some outrage, and burn and destroy every soul and everything; but still after a few months a village would spring up near the same spot, and it would be as bad as the former."

17. While travelling, I became acquainted with some of the chiefs of the Kakhyeens, on the mountains east of Bamò and Taping, and there is no doubt but that these chiefs are keenly alive to the fact, that not only are they the masters of the passes into China, but that unless these passes are made use of, they can reap no advantage from them. The language of one of them in talking to me serves as a sign of the feelings of all: "I will make a road across my district, and will conduct any number of merchants safely into China; no

other route shall be like it; and I don't care whether they be English, Burmese, or Chinese. I want them through my district; and will guarantee that nothing shall happen to them." They look on the routes, in fact, as sources of income, and would be very glad to assist in making them safe and easy, provided they saw it to their advantage to do so;—if, in short, *tolls* were secured to them. They care for no one party or nation more than another; the best *payers* will have their best goodwill.

18. It may be worth while remarking here that the general population of Northern Burmah, above Maidoung, is Shan. There are also along the Upper Defile *Pwons*, and to the west of Katha, *Kadoos*. Both these races, as well as the Shans, are Buddhists, and bear a good character for quiet, agricultural, and trading industry. From my list of their words in common use, I find that their languages have a great many words identical with those of the Kakhyeen, Burman, and Shan tongues.

II.—Physical Characters of the several Routes proposed.

19. The Salween, splendid as the channel is near its mouth, unfortunately refuses to permit of navigation beyond a few miles above Maulmain, where commences a series of rapids and rocky passages that it is scarcely to be hoped can be overcome or avoided by any engineering operation for which either Government or private capitalists could prudently provide the outlay.*

* Since the above was written, Government has spent some thousands of pounds sterling in a thorough survey of this river, and has

20. The route *vid* Shwaygyeen to the Salween, along its valley to near Kianghunghyee, thence to Kianghunghyee and across the Cambodia to Esmok, is also so filled with well-known obstacles, in the way of mountain-ranges, made worse by the character of the Karen tribes inhabiting many of them, that it is unnecessary to speak of it.

21. North of our Pegu frontier is a great plateau, having a few isolated mountains and some ridges of hills, neither high, continuous, nor precipitous. No physical difficulty, in fact, opposes the formation of any description of road across this plain from the Irawaddi to the Shan mountains. This fact has invited much attention to this route, and up to that point it is certainly most attractive. But what lies beyond? The very next step is an ascent of at least 3500 feet above the plain. As far as I am aware, nature has provided no pass nor slope that the most enterprising engineer would think of attempting to make available to a railway company *who wished to make their undertaking pay.* The passes by which the natives go from the plains to the high lands are few, and are all reported to be difficult and tedious, even for the pack animals that now form the only means of transit for

proved the soundness of the above conclusion, that, practically speaking, the Salween cannot be made navigable.—*Vide* Report of Captain Watson and Mr Fedden.

A recent Blue-Book says that this route "would have to cross the Great Yoma Range and its spurs, between the Irawaddi river at Magwè and the Sittang." The author, Captain Williams, was doubtless unaware that the range he refers to has no existence in that latitude. The "Great Pegu Yoma" dwindles to low hills soon after reaching Upper Burmah, and entirely loses its character as a mountain-range before terminating in the extinct volcano of Paopa Doung mountain, some 4500 feet high.

goods. The ascent once accomplished, hills and undulating ground, at a general level of about 3000 feet, continue to be the features of the country till the valley of the Salween is reached. Here a descent is to be accomplished, and if the Salween be navigable the difficulties are over. But if, as I fear and expect, and as has been since proved, that river is not available for either steamer or extensive boat-traffic, another ascent has to be made on the other side of the Salween, and a still less known series of mountain-ranges and high lands must be traversed to reach the Cambodia. This, a much larger river than the Salween, has the character, in Upper Burmah at least, of being, like it, too rapid and too rocky to serve as a highway of trade. It is, at any rate, from just below Kianghunghyee to Kyangtsen (*i.e.*, from lat. 20° 30′ to 22°), full of rapids, over which only small boats can be safely dragged.

Beyond the Cambodia are mountains again, and no one knows what difficulties lie between that river and Esmok, wherever that may be; so that, after all, the route ends in the same unknown region and reaches the same undesirable goal as that advocated by Captain Sprye.*

22. It has been proposed as the best route by H.M. the King of Burmah himself, to start from the river at the capital, and follow the ancient trade-route of

* The route here spoken of was projected to leave the Irawaddi at Magwè, a town on the east bank about sixty miles above the frontier. It has been advocated by the Concessionaries of the Burman Railway Project, and was at one time highly spoken of by Colonel Phayre, the late Chief Commissioner. Under the auspices of the merchants of Rangoon, Dr Marfels, who in 1863 proceeded to explore the whole route from Magwè to Esmok, and safely reached Mandalay, where he now resides, has collected much valuable information as to the route he intends to traverse.

Thongze, Theebo, and Theinnee; and as far as I am in a position to judge, I think this route to be freer from physical obstacles than any more southern one. The Irawaddi conducts you to within twenty miles of the passes up into the Shan plateau. These passes, however, I believe to be quite impracticable for either rail or tram way. In 1861, passing along the western-most ridges of the mountains where the Theinnee route pierces them, I had to go by paths at a height of over 5000 feet (by barometer) above the river-flats. I have been up and down the western face of the range in that neighbourhood by four different routes, each of them precipitous, and not only at present impracticable, but, as far as one without engineering experience can judge, it appears impossible to make them available for any kind of rail or even tram way, without an expenditure far beyond what it is possible to suppose can be reasonably devoted to the purpose. The ascent once accomplished, however, an undulating and hilly tract of country permits of the easy extension of the road to Theinnee. From Theinnee it is, I believe, an almost uninterrupted plain to the very central point of Yunan city. From Theinnee also other routes are open—viz., straight to Tali without passing through Yunchan—or again through Manyo to Maingmò, and on by the further portion of the route to be next spoken of.

23. From Rangoon to the Burmese capital the Irawaddi river is known to be navigable, and to be a good channel for steamer traffic. No steamer has, however, ascended beyond the capital farther than Singoo, above which commences the lowest of the three defiles through which the great river passes in the upper half of its course; and it has been generally regarded as

closed to steam traffic beyond that point. On my way up and down the river in 1863, I was naturally led to note most carefully everything that I could observe bearing on this question, and took great pains in making such a sketch-survey or chart as would serve as a guide to intending navigators. All the obstacles, narrows, rocks, &c., in the way of safety to steam traffic, were there carefully noted; and I cannot do better here than copy the general observations I then made on this portion of the Irawaddi:—

24. "The chief characteristics of the Irawaddi above the capital are the three defiles, each of which has distinct features of its own. Above and below them the river maintains much the same character as between Rangoon and Ava. In these open parts it may be laid down as a general rule, that navigation meets with difficulties in proportion to the breadth of the river. In the long reaches below Tagoung, and in shorter portions equally well defined, where the breadth scarcely varies and the banks are almost parallel, the channel may be taken anywhere between them. Where, however, the river spreads out into a varying expanse of stream, sand-bank, and island;—the current sometimes fierce and to be overcome with difficulty, at other times scarcely moving; here, several fathoms deep; there, but a few feet or even inches; the relative position of the deep and shallow being changed, often entirely reversed, in a season;—the navigation is intricate, and sometimes difficult even for the native boatmen. Such are the broad portions of the river near Powa, from Malè to Khyanyat—from Tongnè to below Thigain—from Thigain to Shweygoo—and between Sawuddy and the upper defile. Still, even in these

parts, boats drawing five and six feet of water can always find passage; and therefore, with the aid of pilots or masters who have 'an eye for water,' steamers could undoubtedly do so as well. *

25. "The two defiles met with below Bamò are both remarkable for the contrast they present to the other parts of the river in their contracted breadth, their great depth, and, except in the freshes, their almost imperceptible surface-current. The lower defile, extending from Singoo to Malè, has an average breadth of about one-fourth of a mile; the banks are wooded to below the high-flood-mark and slope down from the hills, whose steep sides form the valley of the defile, so as to afford a continuous series of pretty views, without any grand or imposing scenery.

26. "The second defile, much shorter than the lower one, is also of another character. Approaching it from below, the narrowing of the river towards its mouth is gradual, but before entering it the high hills led one to expect that, once within, the scenery would be something totally different from that seen either in the open reaches of the river, or in the lower defile. There was little room for disappointment. Soon hard limestone rocks, mottled and striped with calcspar veins, formed the boundaries of the river, scarce a third of a mile across. As the channel narrowed still further, these rocks gave place to bold and precipitous hills rising from the water's edge, clothed, where not quite perpendicular, by thick masses of forest foliage,—and then to magnificent precipices, looking naked and defiant over

* In confirmation of Dr Williams's opinion, it may be stated that Captain Bowers of the Royal Naval Reserve, and one of the present exploring expedition, reached Bamò by steamer in February 1868.

the placid stream, and making the wild jungle beside them appear beautifully soft.

27. "The most lofty of these cliffs is about a third of its length from the upper or eastern end of the defile. Overhanging the deep but quiet stream is a rough mass of rock about fifty feet in height, topped, it is needless to say, by a little pagoda, that peeps out from between the branches of some shrubs that have crept up from the jungle below, as if to look up and down the river. Close behind this rock there rises straight up, with one unbroken front, the face of half a mountain, looking at which one cannot help asking, Who or what has split it in two to let the river pass? One involuntarily looks to the other side for the remaining half; but there, lofty mountains form an irregular amphitheatre, with smaller hills piled one on another leading up to them from the river side. The face of the precipice, perpendicular as it is, cannot defy a few hardy climbing shrubs holding on to the lines of crevices and ledges between the strata of the limestone. Their roots and winding stems seem from below to be simply stuck against the rock. This imposing cliff is of the shape of a huge wedge, lying on one of its sides, with one sloping face to the east, the other to the south, and each exposing an immense expanse of reddish-grey limestone, streaked with veins of calcspar.

"The great Irawaddi itself seemed awed into quiet and humble limits as it wound beneath the cliffs of this defile. Actually not more than 200 and 300 yards wide, it looked scarcely 100. The surface tranquil, with no perceptible current, the mighty stream of one of the finest rivers in the world seemed to hide itself and pass the mountain in the modest shape of a quiet

creek. Beneath the surface, however, the current is as strong and rapid as it is quiet and gentle above, and it instantly drew the lead from its perpendicular. As to the depth, close to the face of one of the cliffs, the ten-fathom line could not reach ground; but at another spot I found bottom near the centre of the stream at eight fathoms.

"At one of the narrowest parts I found the breadth of the river to be 970 feet, though, judging from the eye, I could not believe it more than 150 yards. This defile is thus narrower, shorter, and more winding than the lower, and affords much more picturesque and imposing scenery. Neither the one nor the other, however, can be any obstacle to steam traffic. Except in the freshes, indeed, these are the safest and easiest parts of the whole river. The spring rises, it is true, are said to cause very fierce currents, and it is not frequent that boats are lost in the effort to stem them. But steamers of not too great length and of sufficient power, would avoid the dangers that threaten boats poled and towed along the banks, and, if able to conquer the flood stream, could ascend safely in all seasons.

"The few rocks found in the stream, and those projecting from the general line of the banks, are noted in the sketch-plan of the river. The most serious of these are at *Khyaokmo* above Thigain, and just below *Koung-toung*, above the second defile. In both cases, however, there is clear passage for steamers, as indicated in the plan.

28. "The general course of the river, described as traced from below, is northwards to Katha, and then eastwards (including several bends to the north-east

and south-east) to just below Bamò, where it again turns northwards, and continues in that direction as far as it has been explored. About ten miles above Bamò commences the upper or first defile, of which it is sufficient here to note, that its irregular banks of limestone, flint, and serpentine, would alone make steam navigation extremely dangerous; but the many places where boulders and islands, composed of the latter two rocks, stand out in the stream, and form a labyrinth of 'Scyllas and Charybdises,' make it quite impossible. At one spot where the whole Irawaddi is literally poured through a gorge fifty yards in breadth, the labour and danger of getting a boat up round the jutting rock, even at the time of the slackest current, is very great, and the sensation of peril on being shot down through the middle of it, when the river is rising, into the midst of the whirlpools that play below, is one that, once experienced, I can answer for it, can never be forgotten."

29. Two tributaries of the great river, from their position rather than their size, are also worth noticing. One is the Shweylee, which comes down from Yunan, close by *Maingmo*, and, after traversing the Kakhyeen hills, meanders through the Momeit plain, to fall into the Irawaddi below Bamò, at about one-third of the distance between that place and Mandalay. Could the passage of that river be taken as a proof that the Kakhyeen hills are pierced by a valley, however tortuous, that it would be possible to take advantage of for a great commercial road of any kind, nothing would be more promising than the attempt to make such a road from, say, Tagoung by Momeit to the Shweylee valley, and to follow its course on by

Maingmo into Western Yunan. Unfortunately, however, I could get no tidings of such a valley, but quite the reverse. Quoting my journal again: "The accounts I get of the Shweylee in its passage through the Kakhyeen hills represent it as a succession of rapids, falls, and rocky torrents, through impassable ravines. Once in the plains, however, it becomes a quiet river, with numerous Shan villages on its banks. A few miles up from the mouth of the river (beyond which, time would not allow of my going), I find at this season (April) an even current of water, of a depth varying from a few inches to over twelve feet, running between banks two and three hundred yards apart, with marks of rise of water in the flood of twenty feet or more above the present level. It is said to continue of this character for one day's journey, and then for five days to be a most intricate series of shallows, islands, channels, and sand-banks, to where the Momeit river falls into it. One day leads to Momeit town, and at two or three days' boat-journey from the junction the Kakhyeen mountains are met with, and further progress stopped by the rocks of the ravines from which the river issues."

30. In the dry season, boats drawing three feet can ascend to Momeit. In the summer floods, the largest boats, of 80 and 100 tons, can go up for two or three days' journey beyond the junction of the Momeit stream. The river is so winding, however, that nine days' journey by the river can be accomplished in four by land; and except for rafts of timber, bamboos, and pickled tea, and boats with heavy cargoes, the river is not much used, the land-routes along its course being much more convenient for the lighter traffic. The

lands near its banks are very low. They are flooded in the rains, and reported to be very unhealthy. I may mention, too, that Kakhyeens are "about," even to within a few miles of its mouth. They come down from the hills, and burn the jungle-lands on the plains for "Toungya" cultivation, and make all the roads unsafe.

31. The other river is the Taping. This too comes from Yunan through the same ranges of mountains, and falls into the Irawaddi. Like the Shweylee, it is worthless as a guide. I went up it as far as a boat could possibly go. Issuing from the hills, about fifteen miles E.N.E. of Bamò, near the site of the ancient Shan town of Tsempenagò, or the "old Bamò," it is thenceforth a quiet river, of a breadth varying from a hundred yards to half a mile (now and then enclosing islands half a mile or more in length between its channels), and of depth sufficient, even in the driest seasons, to give passage the whole way to boats drawing two or three feet of water, and often showing no bottom at two fathoms. In the freshes it rises some fifteen feet or more, and overflows its banks. After a moderately winding course, the Taping reaches the great river at Suseenah, a couple of miles north of Bamò.

32. At the point reached by my boat, a few miles within the defile by which the creek comes through the hills, I found the first of the rocky portions that make navigation impossible; and from the manner in which, at that season of the least water, the stream poured through between immense rocks of silicious mica-schist, polished and burnished by the friction of the summer flood, I was convinced that if but a slight rise were to take place, no boat could even approach

where we then reached, much less go beyond. There was seen, indeed, more than enough to verify the description given by the Shans of the utter impossibility of using the stream for navigation. As to depth, we could reach no bottom at twelve feet, even between rocks only six or eight feet apart. Below these rocks the river was like a long placid pool, at the bottom of a deep ravine whose sides were clothed with luxuriant jungle. It is about fifty yards broad, the current on the surface scarcely perceptible; but the depth must be great, for within three feet of the water's edge the twelve-feet pole could find no bottom. Immediately on leaving the hills the river spreads itself, and begins to form large sand-banks and islands between its banks, as above noticed.

33. The mountains just spoken of are the next claimants to attention. I regret very much that I have only been a few miles among them. From what I saw at that partial close inspection, and from the neighbourhood of Bamò and Sawuddy, and from the information I have gathered from various sources, I believe that they consist of an irregular triple range of hills composed of limestone, mica-schist, gneiss, and other primary rocks, running down from the mountain chaos at the east end of the Himalayas, where the Irawaddi has its sources, and forming the boundary wall, as it were, between the high lands of Yunan and the valley of the Irawaddi. On the north the range joins the mountains of the first defile, and on the south is connected with those pierced by the second; and it is, I believe, continuous with the range that passes east of Mandalay, down through Karennee to Martaban. The general width of the range, opposite the

Bamò basin, varies from thirty to fifty miles. The Irawaddi slope, about fifteen miles east of Bamò, is much deeper than that towards Yunan. The average height of the western ridges I guessed to be about 2000 feet. The number of passes into and through them confirms the belief suggested by their appearance, that they do not form anything like the obstacles to transit that the more southern portions of the range do. They can be traversed, in fact, from the Bamò to the Yunan side in as little time as is required to merely ascend from the plain opposite Ava to the plateau of the Shan country by the Netteik pass. Of the various routes marked in the Map, those from Ingtha to Wannim, and from Monmouk to Lueyline, are the most used; but those to Maingmo have to traverse the least difficulties, and I believe that there is more chance of finding a practicable breach for the future charge of the iron horse between Sawuddy and Moungsun than in any other direction.

34. As above noticed, the two rivers Taping and Shweylee, which pierce the range from east to west, are of no use as guides; even their tributaries render the ordinary routes impassable in the rainy season. None of these mountain streams, however, are of a breadth too great to be bridged in the simplest manner; and wherever bridges are required, there are both timber and stone in abundance everywhere at hand.

35. Once across this range of hills, the physical geography of the land, as far as we know of it, is not unfavourable to the construction of any kind of road. The Taping and Namwoon valley stretches north and south from Chanda and Mola to below Mowun. That of the Namoung or Shweylee leads from Moungsun

through fertile plains and by large Shan towns, among which are Maingmo and Seefan, to within forty miles of *Momien* on the left, and *Yunchan* on the right. As the regular Chinese-trade route is there reached, it is not probable that any insuperable obstacles exist to carrying on the lines and making new bridges over the Shweylee, and the much more important Salween and Cambodia, where they are already spanned by the Chinese iron suspension-bridges. I have also been informed by travellers who have been there, that from Moungsun there is an almost uninterrupted plain across to the city of Yunan, and that this direct route to that important capital passes over no mountains whatever.

III.—Commercial Condition.

36. As to British Burmah, it is unnecessary in this place to do more than notice the fertility of the soil, its well-known production of rice, and the paucity of its population.

37. Burmah Proper, however, requires more notice under this heading, not only from the extent to which it takes our manufactures in exchange for its own products, but also on account of its great, but little-known, mineral wealth.

The total value of exports from Upper to Lower Burmah in the year 1862-63 was in round numbers 43 lakhs of rupees, of which 38½ lakhs' worth went down by the Irawaddi. This amount included—Sesamum, oil and seed, 6 lakhs; raw cotton, 4½ lakhs; jaggery, 5½ lakhs; petroleum, 1½ lakhs; cutch, 1¼ lakhs; timber, 1¼ lakhs; rubies, 1 lakh; sticklack, 1½ lakhs; gram, 1

lakh; wheat, 1½ lakhs, for the foreign markets or European consumption, and of native silk fabrics, 4½ lakhs; cotton ditto, over 2¼ lakhs: lackered ware, over 2¼ lakhs; and pickled tea, 1¼ lakhs, for consumption in British Burmah. Nearly all the products thus exported are grown below the capital. They might be increased, it may be said, indefinitely, by a more numerous population, sure of more protection and freedom to dispose of property than, unhappily, at present obtains. Large tracts of land to the south and of still greater extent to the north of the capital, formerly producing cotton for the China market, are now abandoned and left uncultivated.*

38. As to the mineral resources, there are three or four distinct places where coal crops out, from which good samples have been procured, and that promise to be the signs of extensive beds. These spots are not distant from the river. Copper is found, but I do not know of the ore being worth working. Iron of good quality is made from the hematite found near the Paopa Doung, N.E. of Pagham, and also near the Arracan mountains beyond Yau. I can also give my personal testimony to the fact that large deposits of the richest magnetic oxide exist in the ridges directly east of the capital, surrounded by limestone which may serve as flux, and forests (not improbably also coal) which may afford fuel. From this ore, although it is not made use of by the Burmese, I have myself produced a steel of first-rate quality. It exists in abundance within a stone's throw of the banks of the navigable river Myit-Ngè. Lead, silver, gold, and precious stones

* These exports have annually increased in value from £430,000 in 1862-63, to £720,000 in 1865-66, and are still steadily increasing.

are also mineral products of Burmah Proper, and are well known to be at present comparatively undeveloped sources of wealth. To these may be added bismuth, sulphur, marble, serpentine, amber, salt, and limestone. The iron and the coal are, however, of more particular importance with reference to the question under consideration.

39. The population of Burmah Proper, including the Cis-Salween Shan states, may be estimated at 4,000,000 (a very small proportion of this—probably not more than 1,000,000—Burman). Already a great portion of this population is clothed with English manufactures, imported from British Burmah, including 13 lakhs' worth of silk and cotton piece-goods, 1½ lakhs of woollen ditto, and 3¾ lakhs of cotton twist and yarn. It only requires better communication and a lower import tariff to increase the number of customers to the whole population. Owing to defective communication, a kerchief now sells at Bamò for quite double its price at Rangoon.

40. The people of the *Burman Shan states* traversed by the proposed overland routes are also consumers of British manufactures. The Shan States are believed to be rich in mineral products, and the lead and silver of Burmah are almost entirely the produce of mines in these Shan territories.

41. In the northern portion of Burmah Proper are held annual fairs at several points on the Irawaddi, where not only the Shans, Pwons, and Kadoos of the interior, but the Kakhyeens of the mountains come to buy the wretched specimens of Birmingham manufacture, and the inferior cotton and silk piece-goods that the native traders of the capital take up to those

markets. These fairs take place in the cold season. The largest are held in connection with religious festivals, at Thagain, Shweygoo, and Suseenah. The trade is very unsatisfactorily conducted. The sales of each trader are small, but the profits large; the articles, therefore, are very inferior and very dear. None of them have ever been exported to China, the Chinese themselves producing better at a less price. Another important article of trade in that direction is salt. It is exported from Bamò in every direction, all the tribes, wild and peaceable, being dependent on Burman salt, and great quantities find their way into Yunan. The average wholesale price at Bamò is about equal to a penny a-pound.

42. The commercial state of the Kakhyeens of the hills is very simple. In some parts they grow a little cotton, sometimes more than enough for their consumption; in others they depend on the Bamò markets. They make strong cotton fabrics for their own clothing, of very excellent quality, that Manchester could not compete with in price. The present merely nominal value of labour explains this cheapness.

In these mountains, however, are at least two most important metals, *lead* and *silver*. A specimen of galena that I obtained from a spot where it occurs in abundance, but which has not been worked as a mine, contains, according to the analysis of H. B. Medlicott, Esq., of the Geological Survey, "63 oz. 14 dwt. 8 gr. *to the ton of lead—a very rich ore indeed.*" Bishop Bigandet also informs me that he heard of mercury being procurable within a few miles of the western slopes, near the Burmese village of *Talo*.

43. The eight Shan states between Yunan and the

Kakhyeen mountains are known to be thickly populated, and labour is there abundant and exceedingly cheap. At their southern end, in Burmese territory, near Kaingma, is an extensive silver mine, known for ages, but recently abandoned from motives only comprehensible to those in the secret of Burman policy.

44. As to Yunan itself, with its ten millions of population and twenty-one cities of the first order, it is now well known to be, in a commercial point of view, one of the most important provinces of China. In the extreme south are *copper*, and perhaps *zinc*, and certainly the finest *tea* in the Chinese Empire. The middle and northern portions are still more rich, the minerals alone including *gold, silver, copper, iron, mercury, arsenic, lead,* and *coal. Silk, tea, rhubarb, musk, hams, honey,* and many articles suited rather for the Burman than European market, are also produced, and were formerly exported from this portion of the province. The centre of trade in western Yunan is *Yungchan,* where are the headquarters of the great company that has had for so many years in its hands the whole trade with Burmah.* All the above-mentioned articles are there traded in. TALI and YUNAN are still more considerable places of trade.

45. The next province, SECHUEN, is, except in its being more distant, of equal importance to our object with Yunan. It has a population of some 30,000,000, and contains some dozen cities of the first order. It produces *silk* of better quality and more abundantly, I was informed by the Chinese of Bamò, than any other province. Its tea is also superior and abundant. It

* Bishop Chevreau mentions, in one of his letters from Yunan, that the chief manager of his association is at the head of 30,000 men!

furnishes rhubarb, musk, and several other drugs, and many of the minerals found in Yunan.

46. QUEICHO is also a province in the neighbourhood of Yunan; and the great artery of trade, Yang-tse-kiang, runs up from Yunan, between it and Sechuen. Its products and its market are also well within the reach of British trade *viâ* Burmah, if the proper route be adopted.

47. QUANGSI is, I believe, much infested with wild tribes, but the banks of the Tsiking, or Pearl River, are dotted with Chinese towns connected by roads with the city of Yunan.

48. The former trade between Yunan and Burmah consisted almost solely of an exchange of the silk, copper, gold, orpiment, quicksilver, hams, honey, drugs, carpets, and paper of Western China, for the raw cotton, ivory, amber, jadestone, peacocks' feathers, birds' nests, &c. of Burmah. Little tea was brought over beyond what the Chinese in Burmah consumed, and scarcely any of the foreign articles imported into Burmah were taken to China.

49. The following information regarding some of the products of Western China was given me by the Chinese merchants at Bamò:—

My informants, in reference to weight of the articles, and weight of silver paid for them, used the Burman unit of a *tickal*. A tickal is about 1-28th of a pound. A tickal of silver is worth two shillings and sixpence. A *viss* is 100 tickals, or exactly 3.652 lb.

SILK.—Two kinds are recognised, *Kŏezo*, from a district of that name, and *Sechuen*, from the province so called. Price of *Sechuen* silk, 20 and 25 tickals the bundle of 165 tick; occasionally, however, it rises to 40 tickals. *Koezo* silk, from

15 to 30 tickals the bundle. These are prices estimated from the old trade. Not an ounce of silk is sold at present at Bamò. The price of *Sechuen* at the capital is now from 30 to 35 tickals the bundle.

Very little silk is produced in Yunan. Nine bales make a bundle. They are packed first in paper, then oiled paper, then cotton cloth, and finally, in case of transport to Burmah, in baskets lined with bamboo leaves (the same as Kamsuks are made of), and coarse carpets are thrown over the load of each pack animal.

The Chinese gave me the idea that the road once open, this article can be supplied in unlimited quantity.

Tea.—The only kinds apparently known in the market at Bamò are the flat discs of China tea, and the balls of Shan tea.

The discs weigh 20 tickals each; seven piled together make a packet, which used to sell at 1½ tickal and 2 tick. At present no tea is found at Bamò, except the Shan balls.

Western Yunan seems to produce little of this article. To the north and south, however, I was informed it is grown in abundance. *Poour*, a city of Yunan, about fifteen days south-east of Tali, produces excellent tea, and some Chinese informed me that from that district came the tea specially devoted to the Emperor's use. Others, however, contended that Sechuen, not Yunan, produced this celebrated tea. All agreed that Sechuen produces good tea and more abundantly than Yunan.

Copper.—In solid ingots or discs, and in the form of pots. The latter is the best, and used to sell at from 180 to 250 tick the 100 viss. The discs used to sell at from 100 to 180 tick. This is abundantly produced in Yunan.

Gold.—In leaf and in small ingots. Always touched when dealt in. The leaf, more easily and exactly estimated, averages 19 tickals of silver the tickal of pure gold. It varies, however, from 10 to 20 tickals. The ingots are less in value, owing to the less amount of certainty in the estimation of their quality, and are generally sold at 8 annas less than the leaf per tickal of estimated pure gold.

Opium.—Packets in paper, one viss each, averaged 20, 25, and 30 tick the viss, but varying from 10 to 50 tick on unusual occasions. The present price is 20 tick when bought by the traders of Bamò from the Kakhyeens and Shans, who

are now the only importers. The packets are, some of them, well packed and labelled, and are the produce of China; while the rest, the produce of Shans and Kakhyeens, are carelessly packed, and often adulterated.

MUSK.—This is mostly purchased by the Chinese from the mountain wild tribes. Its present price is 20-25 tick, the tickal, bought in the natural bag. It comes from Mogoung, Khamti, and the Shan States, as well as from the mountains in China Proper.

SILVER.—This, I was informed, is obtained from several mines. Doubtless the same motives of jealous suspicion prevented the Chinese telling me the localities as led to their telling me that the gold mines were exhausted.

COAL.—Several accounts agreed in affirming that there is abundance of this mineral at Momien and at Tali.

SALT.—There is no salt produced in Yunan, as far as I could ascertain.

SUNDRIES.—Straw hats, felt rugs, strike-lights, paper (white and coloured), rhubarb and other drugs, hams, honey, pipes, jackets, and pants used also to be imported for sale to Burmans and Shans, and exportation down the river. Formerly at Bamò they used broadcloths and other woollen and cotton stuffs imported from Yunan. Now everything comes from below, and British stuffs were pointed out to me as "having come round by sea from Canton, instead of, as formerly, overland."

The raw cotton formerly exported to Yunan from Burmah exceeded a million of pounds a-year. It is used not only for weaving but also for padding the winter garments.

50. Both this foreign and the internal trade of Yunan are now in abeyance, and for the time extinct, owing to the disturbed state of that province, and the opposition of the Kakhyeen tribes to Chinese traders. The capabilities of the country, however, remain the same.*

* The old Chinese Trading Company has not yet revived its former extensive operations. The Mussulmans, now dominant in Yunan, have, however, revived the annual caravan by the Theinnee route, and year by year the number of pack animals comprising the caravan increases. But the produce they bring is of inferior value, and is never more than barely enough to pay for the raw cotton they take

The articles of British manufacture that I could ascertain to be likely to find a market in Yunan are broadcloths, lastings, blanketings, and flannels, manufactured figured and damask silks, calicoes, longcloth, muslins, jaconets, drills, and plain dark blue or black cotton cloth, for which there is an unlimited demand. Broadcloth is universally used by the Yunan Chinese, who can afford to buy it. Blue and black are the favourite colours. Some fine broadcloth I had purchased at Rangoon at 7½ rs. the yard would, at no time, fetch that price in Yunan, I was told. The home-made cloth was described to me as very thick, and used to sell at from 3 to 6 tickals the cubit in Yunan. That which came from Canton overland, and from the interior (Russian?), they describe as thinner, like the cloth I had bought at 15 shillings a-yard at Rangoon, and worth 1-8, or 2 tickals, a cubit, or 10 shillings a-yard. There is, however, no doubt, I imagine, that cloth can be brought from England to Momien, *viâ* the Irrawaddy, at a cheaper rate than *viâ* Canton. Cotton twist and sewing thread, cutlery, buttons, mechanics' tools, locks, and sewing-needles, were also mentioned to me as British goods wanted in Yunan.

The prices at Bamò of all these articles have hitherto depended on those of Rangoon or Mandalay. It appears that British goods have never been, to any extent, imported into Yunan *viâ* Bamò.

back with them. The route is too tedious, and too much exposed to molestation and robbery, to allow of valuable products being sent by it. Old copper pots, arsenic, iron pots, walnuts, honey, and dried pork, form almost entirely the contents of the packs. There being any trade at all, and its annual increase, by this tedious route, show, however, that the country is becoming quieter, and that only opportunity is required to reopen the old valuable trade *viâ* Bamò.

IV.—Conclusion.

51. From the statements brought forward under the preceding heads, and especially those under Section II., or that of the physical geography of the country to be traversed by the proposed line—and not omitting from consideration the new political position of Upper Burmah in reference to us, as well as the direction which any future political changes would certainly take—what, then, is the best route for European enterprise to avail itself of, in its endeavour to create a China trade through Burmah?

Granting that the object to be sought is the most feasible way of reaching commercially the products and the markets of Western China, especially Yunan, Sechuen, and Queicho, it should first be ascertained what conditions should determine the plan to be adopted, in order to obtain that object.

52. Besides the obvious ones of the least political difficulties and the greatest commercial advantages, are there not others that have not perhaps been hitherto sufficiently thought of? viz.:—

1*st*, The holding in our own hands, and having under our control, the greatest possible length, at this end, of the line of communication.

2*d*, That the plan be capable of being tested without a previous great expenditure.

3*d*, That, when permanently established, as little as possible of the capital embarked in the means of transit be irretrievably sunk.

4*th*, That the general route adopted be one already known and made use of by native traders.

5*th*, That it also be one that—failing the possibility of constructing either a tram or a railway, either at once or even ultimately—may yet be worked with no great hindrance by the construction of a cart-road.

6*th*, That the changes of mode of transit be as few as possible. That, in short, the greatest safety, cheapness, and rapidity of carriage, be combined with the least sinking of capital in the fixed plant intended to form the means of transit.

53. If such are the desired conditions, is it not obvious that, provided the Irawaddi be navigable, and it be feasible to make a road from its highest easterly turn to Yunan, the best means to the object sought is steam communication between Rangoon and some point near Bamò, and a land road thence to Yunan? That the Irawaddi is navigable for steamers just up to the desired point and no further, was determined by my survey of 1863; that the road across the 30 or 40 miles of Kakhyeen hills to the plains of Yunan can be constructed is certain, and that this road could be ultimately replaced by a tram or railway, is more than probable. Granted these two provisions, this route, then, sanctioned by ages of use between Burmah and China—shown above to be politically and physically that most feasible to follow, and commercially that most likely to give the highest returns for the least expenditure—is surely worthy of more attention than has hitherto been paid to it. Indeed the reasons for it are so obvious and so old, that there is no room for a "discoverer," and I long deemed them too evident to need an advocate. It is true that, as long as the Upper Salween remains a river whose navigability is only "not proven," we are none of us in a position to speak

with absolute certainty.* In regard to the Lower Salween, and the overland routes to Esmok, we have seen that material obstacles oppose themselves most strongly to their adoption. That, in the advocacy of which Captain Sprye has so usefully and successfully roused the mercantile community at home, has the disadvantage of passing through hundreds of miles of unsettled country, peopled in many parts by wild and savage tribes, of traversing almost at right angles several successive mountain ranges, and the valleys of three considerable rivers, the Sittang, the Salween, and the Cambodia. But even if the "Emporium" of Esmok be neither a myth nor a hyperbole, that is surely not the point where it is most desirable to tap Western China. It is too far south for the districts we want, and for the desired easy access to the western end of the Yang-tse-kiang; while Quangsi is certainly not worth the trouble of reaching it by such a route, even if it were practicable. For my own part, I rest convinced that my anticipations, as recorded at the time of my first visit to Upper Burmah, will be ultimately realised—viz., that the ancient trade between Yunan and Burmah, *vid* Bamò, will be revived and increased to a vast exchange between the manufactures of England and the products of China.

54. Intimately connected with this subject of trade-routes is that of the OVERLAND TELEGRAPH communication between India and British Burmah and the open ports of Eastern China. In reference to that subject, and to a possible railway, I quote from a letter written soon after my return from Bamò in 1863.

55. "As to a telegraph from Shanghai to Yunan

* As before noted, this river has now been "proven" to be unnavigable.

city, a line will sooner or later pass along the great artery of China, the Yang-tse-kiang.

56. "From Canton to Yunan, the Tse-kyang may contend for the line to follow its course in preference to the above. There will probably be both.

57. "From Yunan city there is the regular trade-route and high-road through Tali and Yunchan to Momien, and thence through Sanda, Mowun or Maingmo, to Bamò, or a point just below it. Between either Sanda, Mowun or Maingmo, and the valley of the Irawaddi, is about thirty miles of mountainous country inhabited by Kakhyeens. At first these people would not perhaps respect the wire, especially in case of any individual being in want, at any moment, of metal for his bullets, arrows, or spears; but for ages they have been accustomed to give safe escort to dawk-runners, and, to begin with, this two days' march may be got over in that way. Trifling subsidies would, however, soon reconcile the tribes, and insure the continuity of the wire.

58. "From the foot of the Kakhyeen mountains to Bamò, and on through Shweygoo and Katha to Munipoor, across the country of quiet trading Kadees, there is no obstacle either geographical or in the way of wild tribes. From Munipoor to Calcutta, although in our own territory and dependencies, would perhaps be the most difficult part of the line. Part of it, however, is already completed by the Assam lines.

"Such a line would be almost entirely between lat. 23° and 25°, and in the case of the Tse-kyang being followed from Canton to Yunan, would very nearly describe an arc of a great circle passing through Calcutta and Canton.

59. "From Katha a line would, of course, branch off and connect Rangoon *vid* Mandalay and the present Pegu line with Bamò. Indeed this portion from Bamò to Thayètmyo or Prome will be, probably, the first constructed.

60. "A telegraph may go where a RAILWAY cannot; but the same reasons that forbid me to think of any other route than the above for the former, force me to believe that, if western China is to be tapped at all from the west or south, it will be by the same route. And if a railway or tramway be required, it will be from the neighbourhood of Bamò to Yunan city. The possibility of such a railway is, for the present, I admit, as chimerical as that of one through any other unsurveyed region. By this route, however, the unknown occupies less of the distance than by any other.

61. "THE RAILWAY, HOWEVER, IS NOT NECESSARY TO EVEN A VAST COMMERCE BY THE BAMÒ ROUTE. River steamers and flats can navigate the Irawaddi up to Bamò. There is the alternative of the Taping river or a perfectly flat road from Bamò to the foot of the Kakhyeen hills. Up to this point the route is through our own and the friendly Burman territory, the latter open to us by right of treaty.

62. "Thence three or four days' mountain route, frequented from time immemorial by thousands of ponies, mules, and asses, that have carried westward Chinese silk, tea, copper, gold, &c., and eastward, Burman cotton, salt, and serpentine, brings one to Sanda, or some other Shan frontier city, whence again the route is taken up by the civilisation of China and carried north-east to Tali and the Yangtse, east to Yunan city, and south-east to Poour, where the Emperor's tea is grown.

63. "Bamò will be a mart again in a short time, as soon, in fact, as Yunan is quiet enough to make any trade possible (and as soon as we will ourselves spend a little energy, tact, and money, in encouraging the re-opening of the old trade). Seeking meanwhile for any new mart in the unknown regions of Esmok, seems like looking for a new port to get at the cotton of the Confederate States, somewhere in Chili, because Charleston happens to be for the present (1864) blockaded.

64. "The modification of this old route which, I believe, will be found advisable, is, to stop the steam traffic at a point a few miles below Bamò, say Sawuddy or even Koungtoung, and to make a tram or rail road along the plain to near Masseen. The passage of the thirty miles of Kakhyeen hills may be made by a good road that would perhaps be, by-and-by, replaced by a tram or rail way. The telegraph to follow the same line, and both road and telegraph to enter China by the Shweylee valley at Moungsun, and pass on by Maingmo, Seefan, and Minglon, to Yunchan, instead of passing from Bamò by way of Sanda and Momien to the same city.

65. "Referring to both trade and telegraph route, if any line is possible, it appears to me that this line is the most so; if any line will pay it must be this, and if any line can be safe it must be this. Such a line will be, I firmly believe, that ultimately adopted, since it will be the shortest, the easiest, the cheapest, and the safest, and it follows the most frequented and oldest trade-routes, through the most populous and civilised territories between the Indian and Chinese seas."

66. Whichever be the route followed, however—and it may be that thorough surveys will entirely change the data on which present opinions are founded—the day is evidently not far distant when Burmah will become the highway for a vast trade with China. Although Yunan is, for the time, so disturbed, I see no reason to fear that the domestic and foreign trade of that province will long remain in its present unsatisfactory state of abeyance. The Pansee revolution may indeed be found to have been useful in breaking up the power of exclusion of the Chinese authorities, backed as this would have been by all the influence of the Chinese merchants, whose jealousy blinds them to their true interests. And while the province is in course of resuming such a settled condition as will make extensive commerce possible, whether it be under the old Chinese or the new Pansee authority, the surveys may be made, the routes and plans of action definitely arranged, and perhaps the communication opened just in time to meet the reviving trade.

67. The Taeping rebellion, by impeding, as it must do, the commerce between the western provinces of Yunan, Sechuen and Queicho, and the eastern seaboard, encourages the attempt to pierce those provinces from the west. They form a splendid field, most inviting to the spirit of enterprise that of old has characterised our commerce. There are forty millions of people waiting to be clothed with British piece-goods and to be furnished with the handiworks of all the manufactories of England, and ready to give, in return, silk, tea, and the most valuable of the useful and precious metals, from mines that European skill would make many fold more productive than now.

68. "The barriers imposed by man are removed. There remain but those of nature. To the conquest of these our science and capital, energy and perseverance, will march again as they have so often marched before, and again will overcome them; to British commerce will accrue a new nation of buyers of our goods and sellers to our wants; to the cause of progress, a new opening for the living civilisation of Europe to compete with the sickly semi-barbarism of Asia; to the cause of religion and humanity, a new field for Christian truth and beneficence to modify, alleviate, and displace the cruelties of a fierce fanaticism and the vices of a degraded infidelity. With the opening of this new way to China will be written a fresh page in our already glorious commercial history, will be taken another step in our onward destiny, and will be given yet another proof that Providence sanctions the mission we attribute to our race."

Amber Mines
Mogaung
TSHENBO
1st DEFILE
Rich Rice Lands
2nd DEFILE
BAMO
Mogaung
Myit Aroung
Main
Sand Islands
Kaungmoung
Old Kaungmoung
Rocks
Sand Islands
Kaungmoung
Tsampemaung
Rocks
3rd DEFILE
Rocks
Rebellion
MOUTSOBO
Kaungmoung
Rocks
Lake
Mogaung
MANDALAY
AMARAPOORA
UPPER IRAWADDI

II.

THE UPPER IRAWADDI

NOTES FROM MY JOURNAL

FROM MANDALAY TO BAMÒ.

THE KING'S PERMISSION—THE START—ON THE IRAWADDI—SINGOO-MYO—THE THIRD OR LOWEST DEFILE—A SOLITARY GOLD-DIGGER—TAME FISH—SAND-BANKS AND ISLANDS—TSAMPENAGO—TAGOUNG AND OLD PAGÁN—ANTIQUITIES—A NAT, ITS INFLUENCE AND WORSHIP—FISHING AT TAGOUNG—WATERFOWL—MYADOUNG—SCENERY OF THE OPEN COUNTRY—BELOO-MYO, OR CITY OF MONSTERS—SHAN CARRIERS—KATHA AND ITS PAGODAS—SACRED ISLE OF SHWEY-GOO—THE SECOND OR MIDDLE DEFILE—LIMESTONE CLIFFS AND SCENERY—MONKEY CASTLE AND MONKEYS—TOUKTAY—KYOUNG-TOUNG—SAWUDDY—SHAN ENGAMPMENT—ARRIVE AT BAMO.

HAVING resolved on testing the practicability of a route through Burmah to the western provinces of China, I addressed, early in January 1863, a formal petition to his majesty the King, craving for the necessary permission and protection while journeying through his territories. The royal consent to my proceeding as far as Bamò, in the first instance, was verbally announced to me on the 7th of that month; but only those acquainted with the inevitable delays which accompany the transaction of the most trifling business in this country can imagine the reasons why I did not procure the necessary passes, and get over the leave-taking with his majesty and the heir-apparent, till the 22d. On that day my luggage was put on board the boat which the King had kindly

ordered to be provided for me; but as ill-luck would have it, we got swamped during the night, partly owing to the darkness and partly to the crowded state of the river, and were thus prevented from finally embarking till the evening of the 24th.

24th.—At last we have started, thought I, as our vessel moved outward to the full stream of the Irawaddi. It was only a start, however; for on nearing the mouth of the creek where we had been lying we found it blocked up by barges and boats as densely as I had ever seen London Bridge or Cheapside by cabs and omnibuses. We could only attempt to force a passage next morning, when, by dint of coaxing, and the usual quantity and quality of nautical vociferation, we succeeded in getting a few barges to move out of the way. One outward bounder, like ourselves, protested against our hurry. He had waited all yesterday; why could not we do the same?—it was surely quite as pleasant to wait as to work! About 150 boats of all sizes—large *paing*, heavily laden with grain, firewood, grass, &c., passenger *loungs*, and hucksters' canoes, carrying vegetables and other produce to the city market—now streamed by, glad but not grateful that we had brought them deliverance. We had now a clear way, and bent our course upward through the gentle flow of the river. At night we moored alongside a sand-bank, and settled down after I had taken an observation for latitude.

28th.—Nothing of interest was met with till we reached Singoo, about 11 A.M. on the 28th. During the three preceding days I had shot a few birds, chiefly waders, restowed the boat, and examined into the damage done by leakage. I regretted to find that my photographic projects would, to a great degree, be frus-

THE START—MADÉ OR MANDALAY CREEK.

page 48.

trated, as several of my boxes with prepared plates were half full of water, and some of the chemicals, too, entirely destroyed.

Singoo-Myo * is prettily situated on a bend of the river, immediately north of a rocky point of greenstone on the east bank. Below this the Irawaddi is of very irregular width, often dividing into several arms, enclosing large islands, some of them temporary and bare sand-banks, others covered with vegetation—jungles of tall grasses, or even forest-growths. Most of the permanent islands are inhabited, some of them containing as many as a dozen or twenty villages. Immediately above Singoo we entered the third or lowest defile, the river forcing its way with diminished width, but with greater depth and velocity, through this rocky channel. Singoo, now a village of about 500 houses, was once a fortified place, and the capital of a petty kingdom, in times when Burmah was divided into several principalities. The old wall still exists on the east and south; but the west rampart has been carried away by the river, and other parts are so thoroughly destroyed as to be no longer traceable. Outside the old wall, now overgrown with brushwood and trees, the country appeared to be a fine undulating park-like tract, studded with numerous topes of noble trees. Near the north-west corner there is a perfect forest of mango, guava, cocoa-nut, and ornamental trees, which mark the site of the ancient royal garden. Within the rampart I came upon a tiger-trap, evidently recently extemporised for some habitual intruder. It was like a huge mouse-trap, with a separate chamber for the bait (a live dog shut in at

* *Myo* signifies a stockaded place, and is usually the chief city or town of a district.

night), and made of rough slabs and bamboos, thinly covered with fresh leaves and branches.

A mile or more beyond Singoo we saw a solitary gold-washer plying his toilsome and uncertain vocation. The sands of the Irawaddi, brought down from the old rocks of the Kakhyeen mountains, may be said to be all less or more auriferous, but for some special cause those in this neighbourhood contain more than the average proportion. This lonely digger had a pit a few feet deep into the sand close to the bank, and brought baskets of it to a little cradle set up at the water's edge, piled it at the upper end, and with the same basket-shovel threw water upon it till all was washed off save what stuck between the bars of the cradle. By-and-by these residues were brushed off into a conical lacquer-tray, and by a peculiar twirling motion the golden grains, along with a little sand, were made to collect at the bottom, from which they were transferred into a bamboo cup for future separation. The digger, who was old, somewhat surly, and not at all eager, said he did not earn more than a *moo* (threepence) a-day, and he only worked because the governor wanted gold for presentation to his majesty. That profitable diggings might be established in this neighbourhood I have not the slightest doubt, but as yet the Burmese system of management precludes any successful speculation. In the evening a flock of wild geese passed overhead, when a fine specimen was brought down. We drew ashore and put up for the night at Mo'oo, a thriving little village on the right bank of the river.

29*th*.—This morning we started at half-past five, and after a long and pleasant day's work, reached Thabitkin, a village on the left bank, about eight o'clock

in the evening. Soon after leaving, we came upon a number of others playing about on the bank and in the water. They were of a brown colour with white throats. I tried, but without success, to secure a specimen.

In the afternoon I went forward in the canoe to see the tame fish near the pagoda of Theehadaw. This pagoda, together with a small *kyoung*, occupies the entire surface of a small island off Thingadaw village, on the right bank of the river. As we drew near the island, I asked the boatman to call the fish, expecting to see a few of ordinary size come to the surface. He hesitated until assured that we had something to give them to eat, but at length slightly ruffled the surface of the water with his outspread fingers, and called, with a coaxing voice, "tit-tit-tit-tit," when, to our extreme astonishment, in less than half a minute, huge mouths ten inches or a foot in diameter rose up to the gunwale of the boat gaping for alms. They were of a kind of dog-fish, some of them at least five feet in length, and very broad at the shoulders. Twenty or thirty crowded to the side of the canoe, and though not clamorous, were ludicrously energetic in their begging—some of them rising so far out of the water as to lose their balance and topple back with a splash on their neighbours. On the whole they were gentle and well-behaved fish, and showed no quarrelsome disposition over our alms, though there were thirty or more great mouths, and our charity was little more than a morsel for one. I could not help thinking of their patrons the Pongyees on their morning rounds. As these clergy silently open their bowls to receive the offerings of the pious, and when given close them as silently and proceed on their

way,* so these gentle dog-fishes quietly opened their huge mouths, and after receiving a morsel shut them, sank into the stream, and retired. So tame were they that they allowed us to stroke their backs, and some of them had patches of gilding on their heads, probably stuck there long ago by some pious or waggish Burmese. Notwithstanding the rapid current that sweeps by the island, these fish keep close by it all the year round, and are fed by all worshippers at the much-venerated temple on the rock—protected by a belief that they are the special objects of the favour of Phra, "the supreme Lord," and doubtless also by their being unfit for food even to the unfastidious Burmese. As we ceased to feed them they gradually left, but invariably came to call, and even when the canoe was moved off they followed us. We rejoined the large boat about sunset, and after a dinner of excellent roast wild-goose, and Crosse and Blackwell's bacon, lay to for the night at Thabitkin.

30*th*.—Started this morning at a quarter to six, and arrived at Yethia, on the right bank, about ten o'clock. I went on shore and struck into the low hills that here border the river, going over several of the higher points that lie between Yethia and Kyouk-mee. These heights are chiefly of crystalline limestone, boulders and blocks of which are strewn in the ravines below.

* The *Pongyees* or Priest-monks subsist chiefly on the charity of the neighbouring community, and, in return, are the educators of all the children who choose to take advantage of their instruction. Early in the morning these monks may be seen in their long yellow robes, with head shaven, and exposed to the weather, steadily pursuing their mission of mendicancy down the streets of every town and village. Carrying a large bowl or tray before them, they walk in solemn silence, neither looking to right nor left, but simply receiving the proffered alms, and passing on till their round is exhausted.

In one ravine, between two limestone ranges, I came upon a sandstone which forms the general surface-rock along this stretch of bank. At Kyouk-mee the rocks formed a promontory jutting out obliquely and northwards into the stream. Continuing across the hills, I again reached the river about a mile below Malé. At the little bight where I re-embarked, a spit of crystalline schist jutted out parallel with the river, and for some distance the bank was formed of a bluff of the same rock with a curved cleavage. Soon, however, this was succeeded by the sandstone imbedding quartz and other hard pebbles, on which Malé is situated. Here ends the defile, and the river once more spreads out into a varying expanse of channel and shoal and sand-bank. The stream which flowed gently and evenly in the deep defile now seethes and whirls about—here violently and with difficulty overcome, there scarcely moving—here several fathoms deep, there but a few feet, or barely covering the shoals over which it flows. Within the defile, on the other hand, all was still and tranquil, the wooded banks dipping rapidly into the water, and the whole affording a continuation of pretty though not imposing scenery.

Before leaving this part of the river it may be mentioned that from five to ten miles west of Thingadaw lies the lignitic coal-field visited and described by Professor Oldham, Superintendent of the Geological Survey of India, in 1855. This coal, interstratified with sandstones, shales, and clays, is of a flaky structure, and breaks down on exposure to the weather; but may yet prove highly useful in the event of steam-traffic on the Upper Irawaddi. "I do not," says the Professor, "anticipate that any of these coals will pay

for working with a view to distant or extended carriage. They would disintegrate and break up too rapidly to allow of their being remunerative in this way; but for all the upper part of the Irawaddi river-navigation, and for the supply of any demand which may arise in or about the capital of Burmah, I look upon them as holding a fair promise of good fuel, in sufficient quantity."

The town of Malé is situated on the right bank, just above the upper entrance of the defile. Opposite, in a deep bight of the river, is Tsampenago; and here the spurs of the hills stand out into the stream as if to command the defile, and, like other available heights, are of course covered with pagodas and monasteries. On the west of Malé is a range of sandstone hills (Nunwood-toung). About six miles above the town I ascended one of the highest points of this range, whence I had a splendid view of the river and its sudden contraction into the defile near Malé. Westward, as far as the eye could reach, there was a succession of forest-clad hills; eastward, between the river and the Shwe-oo range, between 5000 and 6000 feet high, there was a richly-wooded plain; while to the north the view was shut out by the heights in the immediate neighbourhood. At Malé there is a custom-post, at which boats have to pay toll according to their size, and passengers a sum about sixpence a-head.

31*st.*—A keen cold wind, laden with moisture from the river, detained us for some time at Tsampenago, off which place we had passed the night. Recrossing the stream, the boat kept along the right bank, while I went ashore and ascended the neighbouring hills. As the morning breeze died away rain began to fall, but I

held on, and did not return to the boat till mid-afternoon. This inclement weather so paralysed the energies of the boatmen that we made little more than six or eight miles during the whole day.

1*st February.*—Detained again by a recurrence of the strong cold breeze from the north. About ten o'clock a boat laden with piece-goods passed us, and in less than half an hour was seen floating down the stream water-logged, and with only one man, who called loudly for assistance. Our canoe was instantly despatched, and with some difficulty he and his craft were brought to shore. While creeping along the bank a mass of the soft sand had fallen upon the boat, and all save one of the crew had managed to scramble on shore. About noon I went on shore, and continued along the jungle path till toward evening. The current was very strong, and we made little more than four miles throughout the day.

2*d.*—A dawk from Mandalay overtook us, bringing letters and newspapers. Lay to for the night close to the jungle on the right bank of the river.

3*d.*—At mid-day we reached the neighbourhood of Tagoung. The Irawaddi, whose course here is from north to south, runs between a portion of the Mingwoon hills, which, covered with dense forest-growth, slope on the right to the water's edge, while on the left they present a steep bluff of sandstone fringed with sand-banks. About a mile below Tagoung I went ashore with a Burman who professed to know all about the old city, the remains of which, as well as those of the adjacent extinct town of Pagán, I was desirous of investigating. The present village of Tagoung contains about a hundred houses, and does not appear to be in

anything like a flourishing condition. The inhabitants pay a heavy house-tax in paddy, of which they bitterly complain, and to which they ascribe the greater portion of their poverty. I called on an official there, designated the Thoogyee,* who was civil and willing to give all the information he could; but this, unfortunately, was not very much nor reliable. However, after considerable investigation on the spot, and a good deal of scrambling through the thorny jungle, I succeeded in tracing the remains of the city wall, whose brick-structure, backed with earthwork (in some places nearly twenty feet high), was everywhere visible. From the Thoogyee, and some of the numerous visitors whom my presence had attracted to his house, I learned that the two cities had anciently been surrounded by the river, an arm of which embraced the east sides and joined the main stream again a little to the south of Pagán. The remains of this he declared to be evident in the creek to the north of Tagoung, as well as in the fact that, during the freshes of the rainy season, the two cities are actually surrounded by running water, at which time their sites form the only dry ground in the neighbourhood. To the eastward a series of jheels and tanks are interspersed with the jungle, till at the distance of a *deing* (two miles) a lake is met with eight miles from north to south and six from east to west. Beyond this there is nothing but the densest jungle till the hills are reached, which run down from Momeit, another deing farther east.

All united in asserting that Pagán is older than

* *Thoogyee*—literally "great man"—the head man of a small circle of villages.

Tagoung, but declared themselves ignorant of its history. "Its chronicles are all burnt," said one, "and nothing can be known." "It is not hundreds upon hundreds," said another, "nor even thousands, since the city has ceased to be a capital. Before religion came to the country it was the Burman capital, and what old man can tell us of these things?" On inquiring after stone inscriptions or other ancient relics, I was told that nothing had been found except a few small Buddh images in relief stamped upon bricks, with an inscription beneath them which I might perhaps be able to decipher, but of which they could make nothing. On the Thoogyee sending for some pieces, I found the characters to be Nagiri, which, unfortunately, I was unable to decipher. Taking a temporary leave of the Thoogyee, I went through a gap in the north wall (which is here almost level with the ground), and found myself on the steep bank of the creek already mentioned. Northwards a long stretch of gradually narrowing water appeared at last to end in a *cul-de-sac* amidst the densest jungle. This was evidently an old passage, and at present an open one during the rainy season. To the right, close along the wall of the city, stretched a piece of low jungly ground, through which a small sluggish stream, fringed by clumps of feather-grass, entered into the main creek. I went along this north wall till jungle and approaching darkness compelled me to return.

The present village, I should explain, is situated on the north-west corner of the old city, in which also are one or two old and several new pagodas. The chief object of fear and reverence, however, is a *Nát*, or spirit, who is believed to have great power both for

good and evil, and who especially inflicts the stomach-ache on offenders. The material representative of this spirit is a rudely-carved head on a post, the whole being of wood and about four feet in height, with a tapering head-dress, half-globes for eyes, large ears, a prominent well-formed nose, but no mouth. This dreaded image is lodged in a wooden shed (like a zayat), over portion of which is an extra roof, and a partition separating it into an inner recess about six feet square. Within this stood the ugly demon amidst earthen vases and little pans, in which flowers and lamps had been offered to it. I had heard of this terrible Nat at Mandalay, and had been consulted by a former Thoogyee for an inveterate stomach-ache and asthma, believed to have been inflicted by it while he was in office here. His demonship bears a bad reputation for vindictiveness, as well as for being easily offended. In the evening I witnessed a striking example of the reverence which he exacts from all comers to the neighbourhood. My Burman servants had shown considerable fear during the day, and refused to accompany me in a close inspection of the Nat and his temple. At the Puey (or Play) given by the Thoogyee in the evening, I observed the actors (a company from Moutshobo) constantly making a shiko to some one, and this before they had even shikoed to their entertainer. I asked the Thoogyee to whom they made shiko, and was told, in a low and reverential tone, "to the Lord Nat," and then recollected that his shed stood in the direction of the obeisance. Some of the inhabitants ventured to tell me that the Nat was "tey sothe" (very wicked); but this always in a low and confidential tone, as if they did not care about his lordship hearing that they said so.

4th.—This morning the river and adjacent country were wrapt in so dense a fog that objects at a short distance were quite invisible. After despatching some letters by a chance but safe opportunity to Mandalay, I went on shore about ten o'clock, keeping the canoe and sending forward the large boat. On reaching the house of the Thoogyee, I found he had collected all the brick reliefs the village then possessed, and readily permitted me to take what I chose. We (the Thoogyee and I) then started for Pagán, and after fully half a mile's walk through jungle, entered the old city by a pathway passing over a low mound, which was evidently the ruins of the north wall. Holding south, we next came upon a mass of brickwork, apparently an old pagoda, on which was a rude Buddh protected by a modern but dilapidated shed. There was nothing peculiar about this ruin, but around the image there lay several of the brick casts above-mentioned, of a somewhat different style, but all stamped with the same Nagiri character. The Thoogyee very kindly permitted me to select and carry away two of the most perfect. Continuing our southward course for a third of a mile or so, we came upon another pile of brickwork overgrown with brushwood and grass—the ruin of a conical pagoda called by the people the "Shuay Legoon Phra." We climbed the pile, and from its height could see at a glance how entirely the site of both cities had been converted into forest and jungle. The Thoogyee now left me, and I proceeded in my investigations, accompanied by one of the most intelligent of the natives, and succeeded in tracing out the greater portion of the old brick wall, which is quite similar to that of Tagoung. In olden

times, Pagán must have been fully two miles in length from north to south, and about a mile in breadth, and only separated by a slight depression about 300 or less yards in width from Tagoung. It is very probable that the whole elevated area was in remote times an island; for it seems that islands and peninsulas have been favourite sites for Burmese capitals—as, for example, Poukkaw in Yamlot island, Ava, and this the most ancient of all. The Thoogyee rejoined me at the beach, and seemed rather puzzled to see me, tape in hand, measuring the walls. His countenance bore a queer expression of doubt whether he had acted rightly in permitting this, perhaps *dangerous*, proceeding. He spoke very civilly, however, and we parted the best of friends, he promising all the information procurable against my return. It was now far on in the afternoon, and a very cold pull we had to reach the boat, which we did about eight in the evening, and then moored under the bluff of Tongné, eight or nine miles up the river. This town is said to have been a capital, and claims a higher antiquity even than Tagoung. Again, near Myadoung, on the west bank, there is a place called Beloo Myo, or "Monster's City," which was also once a capital, its walls being of stone, and several of its structures said to be of superhuman handiwork.

I suppose that in former times there were several petty states in the valley of the Upper Irawaddi; and that the Burmese chronicles have merely selected one at a time, and, stringing backwards the genealogy of their kings, have manufactured the tale of a continuous monarchy with a change of capitals from the first inroad of the Hindoo princes down to the present day.

I understand from the Hindoos that they have in their books accounts of an inroad by their countrymen into Burmah; and, indeed, nothing is better established than the ancient extent of Hindoo influence over Indo-China and the adjacent archipelago. In this way we can readily understand the prominence given in Burmese chronicles to the advent of the Hindoo princes.

I should have mentioned before that the great expanse of pond and lake and still-water creek around Tagoung render it one of the finest fishing-stations on the Irawaddi. Large quantities are dried and made into "Ngapee,"* while great numbers are also taken alive, and in this state conveyed to the capital. The small fish are thrown into the boats, and there kept alive by frequent changes of water, while the larger ones are strung by the gills or by the lips and towed down the river till the market is reached. At the time of my visit, the *cul-de-sac* creek to the north of the city was closed at its mouth by a bamboo netting, and the fish within were being narcotised by some kind of bark called by the fishermen "Guū." When the fish above the enclosure are all taken, the netting is removed and a new supply allowed to enter, and the process of stupefying repeated every five or six days. At this creek, and on the river generally in the neighbourhood of Tagoung, the fish-eating birds are especially numerous. I had a few specimens shot and skinned, among which were the scissor-bill (*Rhyncops nigra*), and a darter or "snake-bird" (*Flotus melanogaster*)—a very handsome web-footed bird, with a long neck and sharp-pointed beak. When in search of its prey it swims with only its head and neck above

* *Ngapee*—a kind of fish-paste greatly relished by the Burmese.

water, but more frequently watches on the low sand-banks or upon projecting pieces of driftwood.

5*th.*—To-day the first darter (called by the natives "Dinggyee") was shot and cooked for dinner. It was not particularly *fishy;* but although my people preferred it to beef or cold goose, I could not get beyond the first morsel. At night we lay to under Koonqua, a small village on the right bank.

6*th.*—Early in the afternoon we approached the beautifully-situated village of Thigine (Thygain in Yule's map). The river here flows nearly due west, and the pagoda-crowned hill on which the town is situated stands out over the stream and forms a very picturesque foreground to the distant Kakhyeen mountains. Opposite to Thigine is the town of Myadoung, on the low flat ground that stretches away in interminable forest-growth to these ranges. On the other side of the slightly-elevated promontory on which Myadoung stands, are several old river-channels, now dry and shingly, which wind in long interlacing lines among the forest and tall jungle grass, and give to the landscape a very curious appearance when viewed from the higher grounds. Thigine has a situation as commanding as it is picturesque. The river is contracted between it and Myadoung to about two-thirds of a mile. The modern village consists of one long double street, with here and there a house on the high bank to the west of the hill, which runs into the river so narrowly that there is scarcely room for a single zayat.

After shooting an ibis (*I. falcinellus*) on the sand-bank opposite, and successfully disputing the prize with a large kite which swooped down and struck it as it ran, I crossed to the village, and found it the

scene of a "Phra Puey," or periodic pilgrimage to the pagodas on the hill, accompanied by amusements and a fair. Temporary sheds served as stalls, where Burman dealers and Shan itinerant merchants displayed their piece-goods and other articles of utility and finery. Near the house of the Thoogyee a "lik-puey," or boxing spectacle, was going on, accompanied by appropriate music, and witnessed, as in other countries, chiefly by the roughs of the rabble. After traversing the village and the stalls, of which there were about forty, I ascended the hill by a zigzag path, and enjoyed a most magnificent view of the country to the southward. A wide expanse of mingled forest and grass-covered plain, intersected here and there by branches of the river, stretched before me, bounded on the left by high but wooded mountains, and on the right by the river, which flowed smoothly within its comparatively narrow channel. This hill, which is between 200 and 300 feet high, is the terminal spur of the low range that runs directly northwards, and consists of a quartzose mica-schist, which from its cleavage breaks up into brick-like blocks, that have been used by the old inhabitants for their ancient ramparts.

Following the brow of the hill, in a zigzag line, runs a wall, at present nowhere more than four or five feet high on the inner side, though often twelve or fifteen on the outer, and built entirely of the above-mentioned stones laid upon each other in courses, and apparently without mortar. This is the Beloo-Myo, or "City of Monsters," before referred to. One of the inhabitants, who accompanied me to the Kyoung and pagoda at the top, said that Taruppye-ming defended this place and Myadoung against the Chinese, but was ultimately

vanquished and driven to Pegu. The pagoda, like that at Shwey-goo and Suseenah, is said to be one of the 84,000 built by Dammasoka. The stone so close at hand, and so obviously adapted to building purposes, is not used as material for the pagodas, several of which are built upon the extreme ridge of the hill. We saw people bringing up bricks; and, as I have observed elsewhere (on the granite hill at Kangee), this fact of employing bricks so laboriously brought to the site of the Phra, instead of the natural stone at hand, may increase the merit of the pious, and hence the anomaly. We left Thigine late in the afternoon, and after proceeding a mile or two up stream, lay to for the night under the shelter of a sand island.

7th.—To-day I had a long walk along the west bank, the formation rock of which is mica-schist, with frequent intersecting veins of quartz. I overtook some Shans on their way from Mandalay to the *Puey* at Shwey-goo. They had come from Monè, had bought piece-goods at the capital, and were now taking them north to resell at a profit. Each man carried on his shoulder a couple of large baskets swung to the end of a stout bamboo about five feet long. The weight of their loads is extraordinary, considering that they are borne by these sturdy fellows not less than twelve or fifteen miles a-day. I could scarcely lift one of these burdens, and yet they shouldered them and trudged away with apparent ease. I talked with them while they rested, and found them frank and intelligent fellows. They were all characterised by the same large waist and prominent belly which I had so frequently observed among the Shans in Mandalay; and, in noticing this peculiarity, they laughingly attri-

buted it to the large quantity of rice they must eat to enable them to carry their burdens. Two or three of the party had been to Kiangnungyee, and said that the river was there navigable, and that the Tsaubwa paid no tribute to China, but only to Burmah. They also asserted that Muangla was in China, and that the Shans there were not like them, but spoke a different language. Several of them had heard of Esmok (Ezeymock, as they pronounced it) as a city still further east. They were not aware of its being a place of trade; or that fairs were held there, though, like every other Shan town of any note, it was likely to have its market every fifth or sixth day. In the evening we came upon a large flock of adjutants (*Leptoptilos argala*), one of which (as there was no law to the contary) I shot, and kept the beautiful undertail feathers, while the Burmese made supper of the carcase.

8*th*.—Walked to-day for several miles along the high land of the western bank. Crossed in the canoe to the flatter shore of the east side in search of wild ducks, but without success; a cormorant, a crow, a pheasant, and two green pigeons, being the sum total of the day's sport. A little further on the jungle came close to the water on both sides, and under the shelter of this we lay to for the night.

9*th*.—To-day arranged and numbered my objects of natural history, while the boat made good and pleasant progress up the stream. About six in the evening we arrived at Katha, and after dinner went ashore on a tour of inspection. This is evidently a rich town, every house in the long double street being built of timber, and having a well-to-do appearance such as I have seldom witnessed in any part of Burmah. It is

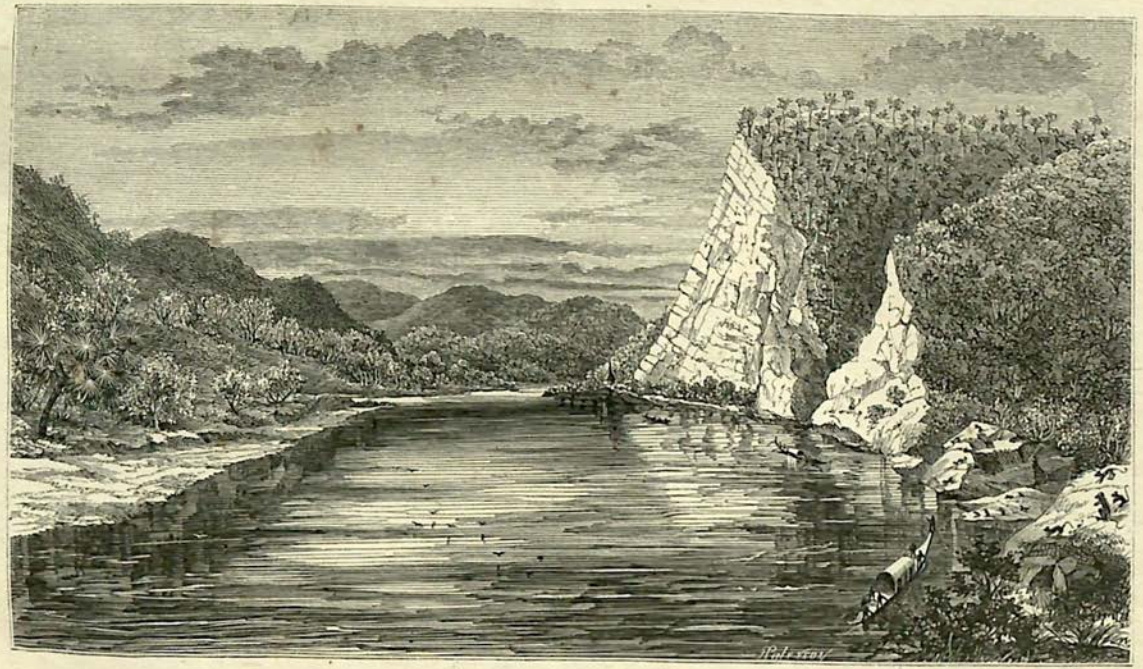
a place having a considerable trade in paddy (the produce of the rich alluvial lands to the west of the hills), as well as in articles, foreign and native, procured from Lower Burmah. I went through the village and into a perfect forest of pagodas on the south. Katha is enclosed with a strong bamboo fence having north, south, and west gates, but these I found shut for the night, and had to return without obtaining a glimpse of the surrounding district.

10*th.*—This morning the Myo-ook* sent a present of a couple of salt-fish, accompanied by a request for some powder, which, luckily, I could spare him. Took a long walk along shore while the boat proceeded up the stream, but owing to the density of the jungle and tall grasses had very little sport. About 5 P.M. we reached a small island having a few houses near the water's edge, and there put up for the night.

11*th.*—Started early this morning; and on the way made several cruises in the canoe to the shores and sand-islands, in the hope of bagging something for table. Saw numerous flocks of pelicans stalking among the tall grasses, but failed to get within shot. About half-past 5 P.M. we reached Menoo Leppan, where we remained for the night—the boatmen not liking to risk being benighted at a distance from any village, as they feared the Kakhyeens.

12*th.*—This morning, soon after starting, a flock of cormorants flew over us. One fell to my gun, but before the canoe could be cast off a rascally kite saw the quarry, and, in spite of our shouts, swooped down and carried it to the further side of the river. Kites,

* *Myo-ook*, an official under the Thoogyee or chief town magistrate.



SECOND OR MIDDLE DEFILE OF THE IRAWADDI.

(From a Sketch by Dr Williams.)

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cormorants, crows, ducks, and other waterfowl, were numerous on this part of the river. Bagged several Brahma ducks, which were no inconsiderable acquisition to our larder. Early in the evening, and after a fair day's work, we reached the little village of Shweygoo.

13*th*.—After a long day's survey we crossed to the sacred island of Shweygoo, but soon found it too dark to see much of this celebrated spot. Preparations for a festival had begun, and temporary huts in dozens were being erected on the low sandy flat that stretches beneath the true bank of the river. In spite of the hostile dogs, I attempted a walk through the village, and found it a perfect forest of pagodas. Towards the east end, a paved road, half-a-mile or so in length, and flanked all the way by these buildings, led, I was told, to the most celebrated and powerful one in the island. The Burmese account is that there are nine hundred and ninety-nine pagodas in Shweygoo, besides several in an unfinished or mutilated condition.

14*th*.—This morning we started early, and about seven in the evening entered the Kyoukdwen, or second defile. The banks before entering this gorge are composed of a coarse friable sandstone underlaid by a bluish tenacious clay, and dipping at low angles to the south-east. The cliffs of the defile itself are composed of a hard bluish-grey limestone, mottled and striped by veins of calcareous spar, and rise so precipitously from the water's edge that only here and there on a scanty ledge can the hardiest shrubs and climbers find a footing. The loftiest of these cliffs was about a third from the east or upper end of the gorge, and there, standing out in the deep and still current, was a rugged rock about fifty feet in height, and crowned, it is

needless to say, with a small pagoda, which looked like the presiding genius of the defile. Twenty or thirty feet behind the rocky pedestal on which stood the pagoda, the cliffs rose up sheer and unbroken—the river face of half a mountain which had split to give passage to the current! One looked, though in vain, for the other half on the opposite side, where the hills swept back in an irregular amphitheatre, and rose one above another till lost in the distant mountains. The mighty Irawaddi itself seemed awed into quiet and humble limits as it wound beneath the lofty cliffs of this defile. Not more than 200 or 250 yards in width (it did not seem more than 100), the great stream passed tranquilly onward to the open country below.

This spot is rendered more interesting by the pleasing spectacle of the confidence which can be inspired among the denizens of the forest by the Burmese custom of charity. A society of gibbons have made the shelves of the cliffs their home and stronghold. As we approached the side, the boatmen called out in their native *patois*, "Come, come!" when soon the shrill chatterings of the monkeys were heard from various parts of the cliff. Little specks flitted hither and thither, from ledge to ledge, and from bough to bough, down to the water's edge, till dozens were waiting and clamouring for our approach. We threw pieces of yams and sweet potatoes, which they readily seized, as if—their natural due—the custom's fee for passing their stronghold. Taking the cover of the saucepan full of rice, I jumped on shore and held it out to them, when several of the largest came forward and ate it as eagerly and confidently as would a tame monkey of the London Zoological Gardens. The

little ones, however, were shyer, and kept at a greater distance. A spaniel we had on board was the object of great demonstration among them, by speech and gesticulation. The dog would come on shore and bark, threatening to pursue them, while they in turn got angry, stamping with all four hands and scolding—retreating when he sprang towards them, and following when he retreated. One of the largest—an old grizzly fellow—made such warlike demonstrations that we thought it as safe to recall the intruder to the boat. The elder monkeys had all red or reddish faces—some of them quite a brilliant scarlet; others, and all the younger ones, were uniformly brown or mouse-coloured. The latter were most amusingly timid, and on the least alarm clung to their red-faced mothers, who sometimes carried them with wonderful agility up the rock, and at other times seemed to chide them for their cowardice. The large male, who appeared to be the leader, and came the most readily to my cover of rice, was about nine inches across the shoulders, and well clad with a thick long fawn-coloured fur. He looked quite formidable with his bright sharp eyes, and by his manner quite prepared to take by force if I did not peaceably give them the proffered dole.

At a higher part of the defile a similar cliff rose sheer out of the water on the south or left bank. On passing we put into the mouth of a cavern about 20 feet in height, and of considerable extent inward, in which we found the water about 9 fathoms deep. By the face of the cliff no bottom was found at 10 fathoms, but in the centre of the stream it was reached at 8 fathoms, with a steady downward current of considerable force. Above the monkey castle the breadth of the river was

970 yards, though, owing to the immense height of the cliffs, it did not look much more than a third of this measurement. There are several romantically situated villages along the defile, but none of any magnitude or importance. This second defile is on the whole narrower, more winding, and much more picturesque in scenery, than the first defile. We passed out of it about six in the evening, and lay to for the night at Touktay, just above its upper end. Here we heard the barking deer (*Cervus muntjac*) not far off. An observation showed the latitude to be 23° 44′ 16″.

15*th*.—We left Touktay about six in the morning, passing the mouth of the Tseenkhan, which was full of timber and bamboo rafts, just above the village. This river comes from the Kakhyeen mountains to the east, and has many Shan and Kakhyeen villages along its banks, which afford excellent bamboos, good teak (hard and straight), and rattans. Its course is very tortuous, but small boats at all seasons, and large ones during the floods, can ascend for four days, when the mountains are reached, and the stream becomes a rock-bound headlong torrent. Passing the Tseenkhan, the limestone mountains of the defile are now seen stretching away to the north till lost in the distant misty horizon.

The banks of the Irawaddi are here composed of red and black sandstones in nearly horizontal strata—the black lying upon the red, and immediately under the sandy upper soil of the district. On the southern side of the reach, and opposite the village of Kyoungtoung, the black sandstone forms several dangerous reefs stretching fully 100 yards into the river, and some of them barely concealed even during the inundations. I landed at Kyoungtoung, and tried to enter

at the west end, but met with a striking sign of the recent decay of the place in the closed gate, and no house near enough to answer our call for admittance. We first passed through the grass-grown compound of a deserted monastery, then over a bridge-stile in moderately good repair, and next over a dry ditch filled with jungle-shrub, when the closed gateway and bamboo fence forbade our further approach. On each side the gateway stood a gigantic Palmyra (*P. gigantea*), as if to sentinel the unused portal. After trying in vain to force the gate or make some one hear us from within, we retired, and, passing down into the moat, got round to the river face, and met some of the villagers at the north gateway. They eagerly showed us the triple fence round their village, and the evidence for its necessity in the many ruined and deserted houses within. The Kakhyeens, they said, had destroyed the place; nearly all the people had left—some of them living for the present on the sand-bank opposite. Their enemies had last come upon them in September (about five months before); and they had had a regular fight, some fleeing, and others defending themselves from the Thoogyee's house, which still bore marks of the skirmish. Several houses in the village had been burnt, and nearly all looted. The poor people complained bitterly of these Kakhyeens. Only a few years ago, this village was wealthy and prosperous; now, it is scarcely a hamlet. To aggravate their case, they were heavily taxed in timber, which had to be delivered at the capital. His majesty, they said, knew nothing of the real state of the district, and so they begged that on my return I would lay their case before him.

From Kyoungtoung to Sawuddy the boatmen had

very hard work—the current being strong, and the bank so steep and covered with impediments of driftwood, jungly brushwood, prickly rattans, &c., that frequently both towing and poling were all but impracticable. Despite all obstacles, however, we reached Sawuddy a little after four in the afternoon, having determined to be there that evening. From Kyoungtoung the bank is of a stiff clay, and at some spots full forty feet from the water-level to the surface soil. At one reach I met with numbers of those singular concentric dome-in-dome concretions (fairy stones) of ochrey clay, imbedded in a dyke of blue clay, in which alone they were found, their shape being extremely uniform.

On a bluff of the left bank, about 60 feet in height, stands the village of Sawuddy, which is approached from the river by several flights of steps cut in the bank. On the landward side it is enclosed by a substantial double bamboo fence—the inhabitants entertaining the same dread of the Kakhyeens as the people of Kyoungtoung. Outside the fence, at the time of our visit, was a company of these mountaineers, with their bullocks. They had come down for salt, and with the honest intentions of trade; but the Burmese and Shan inhabitants of the village were in a panic of fear, and would rather have been without them. I paid a visit to their encampment, but the villagers strongly protested against my going near such formidable monsters, lest I should suffer violence. They were certainly a set of fierce and powerful-looking savages—the very boys wearing swords, prepared apparently to enforce compliance where friendly terms might be declined. The Burmese do not allow them to come into the village, and at the gateway is a watch-tower,

where sentinels are on duty day and night. We observed that the women all left the village at night to sleep in boats, on rafts, or in temporary huts in the neighbouring sand-island. Even the *Kyoung** was removed to a raft, on which was erected a shed, whence the noise of children repeating their lessons (and later in the evening their prayers) came monotonously, and anything but musically, across the waters. It was considered unsafe for us to proceed further, so we moored under an island—one of the many that now stud the rapidly widening and shallower river—and awaited the light of the following morning.

Not long ago we were told that a trading boat had been hailed in this neighbourhood by a party of Kakhyeens on the pretence of dealing. After buying some salt and salt-fish from the master, they persuaded him to wait till they apprised another party who had similar purchases to make. This the poor fellow did, and in less than half an hour a reinforcement of the rascals returned, attacked and killed the crew, carried off the cargo, broke up the boat, and set the wreck adrift down the river.

16*th.* — To-day we threaded the maze of sand-islands, shoals, and devious channels which form the river between Sawuddy and Bamò, which town we reached about dusk. I sent my native clerk to the governor with the royal order; and turned in for the night after an observation of the polar star, from which I made the latitude 23° 55′ 23″. At this stage the river spreads out in a broad lake-like expanse studded with islands—some low and evidently under water

* *Kyoung*, a Buddish monastery—the brotherhood as well as the building, and in this instance the former.

during inundations, some higher and covered with jungle, while others are inhabited and partly under cultivation. Throughout the whole, however, the river still maintains a perceptible current—the deeper navigable channel lying towards the Bamò side.

RESIDENCE AT BAMÒ.

A STROLL THROUGH THE TOWN — CHINESE TEMPLE AND PRIESTS—VISIT THE WOON—VISIT FROM THE CHINESE MERCHANTS—SHAN ENCAMPMENT AND CARAVAN — THE KAKHYEENS AND THEIR CHIEFS—ROUTES THROUGH THE KAKHYEEN HILLS—VISIT FROM THE SHANS — CHINESE BAZAAR — DILAPIDATION OF BAMO — DREAD OF THE KAKHYEENS—SPORT IN THE SWAMPS—ROUTES TO YUNAN—MINES AND MARKETS—DRUNKENNESS—CHARACTER OF THE CHINESE TRADERS—RAJ SINGH'S TRIP TO THE KAKHYEEN VILLAGE—MANNERS AND CUSTOMS OF THE KAKHYEENS—PHOTOGRAPH THE WOON, ETC.—SHAN SMITHS AND THEIR WORKMANSHIP—SHANS AND SHAN MERCHANDISE—A KAKHYEEN CHIEF—THE NIKANDAN'S FRIENDSHIP—THE WOON'S OBSTRUCTIONS.

17*th February* 1863.—Early in the morning Raj Singh went on shore to see about the house which was to be given me by the Bamò Woon, and on his sending word that all had been cleaned and put in order, the boatmen took up the luggage about eleven o'clock. In the interim I went on shore, and, passing through the Chinese street, visited their temple, which, like everything else at Bamò, bore an aspect of decay and neglect. The courts are large, but in dirty disorder, and the shrines are not nearly so rich in grotesque and ferocious images, or in ornamental gilding and furniture, as the Chinese temple at Amarapoora. Two miserable-looking priests, or *Pongyees* (as they told me

they were), invited me to partake of tea, which civility compelled me to comply with, though I found it as bitter as a double infusion of quassia and senna. On repairing to my new abode, I found it a common but decent Burmese mathouse, consisting of three rooms and a verandah, and situated near the bridge leading from the wharf to the residence of the Myo Woon.*

After breakfast I paid my respects to the Woon, and found him a stout burly old man, with a good-natured and benevolent expression — a thing rather unusual among Burmese officials. He was sitting quite in state at the end of a large Mirzapore rug in the front hall—his house being on the plan of a Mingyee's, though without any ornament to the multiple roofs. He received me very civilly, and said we must be friends; that he had placed at my service a house belonging to an absent official; that I must ask him for whatever I wanted, and inform him if I met with the least obstruction. In answer to my queries, he represented the road to the Chinese frontiers as impracticable on account of the Kakhyeens, who had even had the boldness to murder a man and steal his musket within a short distance of the town. The Woon's writers could not at all comprehend my ascending to the awful audience-hall with shoes on, but their remonstrative remarks received no attention either from the Woon or myself. On leaving this dignitary I came upon a party of Kakhyeens just outside the gate. They were going in with presents, among which I observed a magnificent leopard's skin.

* *Woon* (literally *burthen*), a governor or minister; *Woongyee*, a great woon; *Woon-douk*, a minister of the second order.

In the afternoon two Chinamen came to see me. One of them spoke Burmese well, and appeared more intelligent and communicative than his countrymen generally are. He represented all intercourse between this and Yunan as impossible, at least for the Chinese. Large quantities of merchandise, chiefly cotton, were shut up here, waiting for export to China. I told him of our new treaty with Burmah, of which he evidently had not heard, and how it affected the Chinese traders. He seemed fully alive to the advantages of the new tariff; but shook his head, remarking that it was impossible either to send goods to China or to get anything from China to send down to Rangoon. He complained most bitterly of the Kakhyeens, and represented them as allied with the Pansees, and determinedly hostile to the Chinese. On further conversation, his companion astonished me by pointing out the positions of the provinces and all the principal towns on the map of China.

18*th*.—This morning took a long stroll among the jheels and nullahs to the east of the town, where there was said to be good sport—these swamps being frequented by vast numbers of a kind of water-hen ("yay-chik" or "ya-kyeet"), much prized by the natives. The country here is one low-lying alluvium—the nullahs and jheels being evidently the remains of old river-channels. In returning I came upon an encampment of Shans, with several hundred bullocks, and invited the head-men to my residence. Several of them came during the forenoon, and seemed friendly and quite communicative. They had come from Theinnee for salt, cotton, and dried fish; and although their number was above a hundred, they were waiting

for more of their countrymen to swell the escort of their caravan homewards. They were in dread of the Kakhyeens, whose different chiefs, though at perpetual variance with each other, yet unite to plunder the ill-protected trader. The chief of the party said it was ten days' march for their bullocks from Bamò to Theinnee;* and taking the ordinary journey of a pack-bullock at twelve miles, the distance must be about 120 miles.

In the forenoon I paid another visit to the Chinese temple, and to my Chinese visitor of yesterday. His shop, as well as most of the others, were closed on account of the Chinese New Year's Day. In his little back parlour sweetmeats were laid out and candles were burning before the god of the house—a simple marble Burman Buddh placed in a recess of the wall. During the afternoon two parties of Chinese paid me complimentary visits. One of them, a leading merchant in the place, very graphically described the position of his countrymen in Bamò as that of a man having something in his throat which he could neither get up nor down.

The boatmen left, on their return to Mandalay, carrying with them letters to Colonel Phayre and others interested in our mission.

Raj Singh went to the village of the captive Assamese, about two miles above Bamò, and from the information obtained by him, as well as from other sources, I do not think the difficulties lying between this and Yunan are insurmountable by me, whatever they may

* He also gave the order of the route as passing, day after day, through Nama-pay, Maing-tsay, Peeta, Wa-poong, Peitasi, Ma-kow, Nan-poong, Nan-ky, Ma-koong, then Theinnee.

be to a Chinaman. The Shans and Kakhyeens are not united, as the Chinese traders represent them, and these hill-tribes have no authority which is obeyed by all, although some chiefs may have locally more influence than others. At one time they were immediately under the Burmese, the chiefs, or "Tsaubwas," being appointed by the King of Burmah; but of late they have assumed more independence, and now hold the position of highland bandits, exacting black-mail from their weaker neighbours, and from travellers passing through their country. It is true those near the Burmese Government offer a nominal tribute and vassalage, but this is simply in the ratio of their distance from the royal troops. How strong thus he was, even in the days of a prompt and vigorous sovereign like Tharrawaddi, may be judged of by the following anecdote:—One of these hill-chiefs, to the north of Shweygoo, was honoured with special dignity by that king, whose golden foot he had worshipped at the capital. Some years afterwards, however, he incurred the displeasure of the Burmese ministers, who ordered the governor of the district to call him, take away his chieftainship, and give it to another. The chief came to Shweygoo, but on hearing why he had been sent for, spat upon the ground, saying, "When I take that spittle again into my mouth the king may take back the rank he gave me," and returned to his hills and Tsaubwaship (between Magoong and Assam), ruling with increased rigour and severity.

When the Chinese or others pass through the Kakhyeen defiles, it is not enough that they give presents to the great chiefs, but gifts must also be made to the headsmen of the villages. If one chief commits a

murder or robbery, there is no superior authority to call him to account, and thus the most glaring offences go unpunished. Some of the customs of these people are also extremely primitive. The young men and women of every village sleep in the same house, in the middle of which a fireplace divides the sexes; but when a couple have made up their minds to be united, they desert the general sleeping-apartment and set up an establishment of their own. When a chief dies he is embalmed and preserved with gilt and other ornaments, and not till after ten or twelve months is the body burned, amid general feasting and distribution of good cheer. I was told, too, that it was a universal custom among the Kakhyeens to allow no one to pass them save on the left or sword side, and that a neglect of this might subject the offender to a thrust from the jealous savage.

Raj Singh was told to-day by his compatriots that there are three well-known routes from Bamò to China —one of them only five days' journey to Mownu, where the Pansees are in full possession. This route is through the districts of two Tsaubwas—"Monook" and "Matting"—both well known to the Asamese, who represent the journey to the Chinese frontier at Lueyline as practicable under the protection of these chiefs. It appears quite certain, at any rate, that without the purchased protection of the Kakhyeens it would be impossible to proceed out of the Bamò district, or further than the Taping.

19*th*.—Early this morning two Shans and a Kakhyeen, having heard of my intentions, came in with information regarding the route to the Chinese frontier. The former said they were going to Mein-mo, and the

latter to Tamong. The Kakhyeen was the lieutenant of the Tsaubwa through whose district they had to pass. "He goes with us," said the Shans, "and there is nothing to fear; his district is two days' journey from this, and it takes other two days to pass through it." The lieutenant was an ugly dirty savage, and in his dress undistinguishable from the Shans. All the Kakhyeens I have yet seen remind me of the portraits of Tartars given in ethnological books; square-faced, strong-jawed, and oblique-eyed, but with a greater dash, perhaps, of fire and ferocity. The women were dressed much like the Toung-thoos, with the cane girths and other requisites.

The Shans requested me not to mention their visit to the Burmese or Chinese, lest they should be angry with them for coming. They said that Mein-mo was twelve days' journey from Bamò—viz., to Lanat, 3 days; through the hills of their Kakhyeen guardian to Natee, where they find Shans, 2 days; along a fertile plain to Seefan, 3 days; to Mingnon, another Shan village, 2 days; another day to Ming-wong, a Chinese city, and then 2 days more by hill-route to Mein-mo. I gave them tea, but the Kakhyeen expressed a desire for something he could take home and show as a present from the Inglick Ming.

After breakfast, with a view to learn something of the trade of the country, I visited one of the largest of the Chinese bazaars. The likeness of one Burman stall to another is striking, but the absolute sameness of one China shop to another is truly wonderful. Not only are they all of one shape and size, but the various goods seem to be arranged after one set pattern,—the money-box, the tobacco-bottle, and all the different

articles for sale, occupying the same relative position in every narrow warehouse. No Chinese goods are to be seen, save a few medicines; the bulk of the stores consisting of British piece-goods, cloth, coarse blankets, long-cloth, book muslins, red cotton cloths, cotton velvets, silk and cotton handkerchiefs, figured and coloured muslins, the lastings or bombazines of which Chinamen's jackets are made, twists, sewing cotton, needles, buttons, &c., &c. One of my visitors of yesterday insisted upon my taking tea and sweetmeats in his little back parlour. On one of the walls hung a map of the Celestial Empire which was highly characteristic. On the south-west of the chart there was left just room enough for a tiny yellow spot—this was Burmah; along the west were Tartary and other countries; while in the extreme north-west was a still smaller spot, which was pointed to as my country. Some of these Chinese were well-dressed, good-looking men; others seemed very poor. Guessing from dress, the extremes of high and low seemed to jostle each other, but from their manners all appeared to be of the same social rank. In most instances I found them extremely inquisitive, and in some cases even intrusive, but all either ignorant of, or disinclined to give information respecting, the route from Bamò to Yunan.

In the evening, the chief Chinaman, who is appointed by the Burman Government as a kind of mayor, called at my residence to exchange civilities. He is half Burman, and though apparently not disinclined to answer questions, had no new information to give me. I had also a visit from the "Nikandan," or governor's secretary, who came to arrange about a boat for the further part of my journey. He talked a long

time, and especially about our recent treaty with Burmah, which might be favourable to both parties, but which would be very difficult to abide by. He told me that Bamò was a corruption of the Shan word Manmo, or water-pot village, and that the ancient Shan capital was near Taping, and called Tsam-penago. The Kakhyeens he represented as quite independent of Burmese government, or even of any systematic government among themselves.

20th.—After attending to some eye-patients, I took a stroll through the town, and beyond, to the Shan encampment. Several hundred loads of cotton were now ready for the journey, each load consisting of two tall baskets, containing on an average from twenty to thirty Viss of clean cotton. As to Bamò, I found the palisade on the east side much out of repair, having been burnt down in course of last year (1862). The town consists of one long double street along the river bank —the bank side forming, instead of a fine clear highway, the back gardens of the houses, or rather the back jungles; for everything, houses and fences alike, wore the aspect of neglect and decay. The blackened posts of some burnt kyoung or house were frequent sights, and one of my people who formerly lived here told me that the town is now totally different from what it was only two or three years ago. The Nikandan spoke yesterday in the same strain, and told me that the great spoiling took place during the reign of the last governor, who greatly oppressed the inhabitants. The Kakhyeens were also very troublesome at that time, and indeed no one felt himself safe. The consequence was that many of the people left, and only some of them had come back on the return of the present

governor, who had been thrice before in office. During his last term of office the town had been in a very flourishing condition; the China trade open; and there had been a lac a-year left to the King from the customs, after all the expenses of the district had been paid.

Chinamen had then large godowns, and dealt in nothing but Chinese goods, and those for export to China; but now (the route being closed) they had been compelled to become general shopkeepers. The Nakandan's account of the cause of the ruin, I find, is not quite true; for it seems to have been the custom of each retiring governor to bequeath a fire to his successor; and it is also more than ten years since the Kakhyeens set fire to the town, and this when the present governor was in his second tenure of office. When he left, Moung Buah succeeded him, and nearly the whole town was burned down. Again, when Moung Buah was recalled, and the present governor again succeeded, a part of the unfortunate town was once more fired, and of course no one knew by whom.

Had some sport in the afternoon in the swampy ground to the east, and brought down several waterhens, which could not be reached save by laying and lifting alternately a gangway of bamboo across the soft mud.

In the forenoon two decent-looking Chinamen called at my residence, one for eye-medicine and the other for something as a cure for arrack madness; and although both were sensible and ready to answer, I could get little information beyond what I had obtained from others. Besides the two Momeins on Yule's map, I hear of several which from their position cannot be

either, and yet am told there is only one town of that name. These Chinamen say that Momein, or Tang-ye-choo, is a large city of Shans and Chinese in Yunan or Yindan province, and agree to the position of it and other Shan towns of Kochanfiri as given by Yule. The Shan towns of Sanda, Main-la, &c., have, they say, Tsaubwas of their own, who are under the authority of the Emperor of China, and receive their appointments from his celestial majesty. My visitors tell me that the Shans outside the town are still waiting for reinforcements before starting through the Kakhyeen country, having learned that a party of these marauders are waiting to attack the caravan. They further assert that the Kakhyeens are at war with the Shans to the eastward, and that each party murders any of the others found within their territories. On telling them of Chinese having come to Mandalay *vid* Theinee, and mentioning that this was generally considered as the safest and most expeditious route to Yunan,—"Yes! yes!" said they, "but they pay heavily for a temporary chance, having to give arrack and feast every Kakhyeen chief on the way; and if the headsman of one village should be neglected, he will revenge himself by waylaying them, and robbing them if he can. No! all the routes are practically closed. We used to wear cloth jackets that came from Canton overland, and use everything from China; now we get all from below, even our teas. This lasting of our jackets (of Leeds manufacture) comes by ship from Canton. Formerly we would not have worn it; now cloth is scarce, and we must wear what we can get." They told me that Yunan province, amongst many other articles for export, produces gold, copper, iron, mercury, arsenic, dried pork,

silk, and tea; and that Sechuen province produces both the best and the greatest amount of silk. They further declared that were the road open they could sell in Yunan, in preference to Chinese goods, English broadcloths, blanketing, flannels, and all other sorts of woollen, cotton, and linen goods, as well as cutlery and small wares—in fine, everything that Birmingham, Leeds, Sheffield, Lancaster, or Yorkshire can produce.

I also learned from them that the mines in the Burman-Shan territory, which were formerly worked by the Chinese, who paid a duty to the Burmáns, had for some time been left unworked, in consequence of the oppression of the Burmese superintendents. These mines yield a rich argentiferous lead, from which the silver can be readily extracted, and are said to be easy of access. For the same reason, gold was little sought after—a fortunate find being always exaggerated and made an excuse for plunder by the officials. Even turning up the ground in the old city was not safe, if anything rare or valuable was found. An inhabitant of the old city of Pagán, for example, came upon five vessels of gold with 12,000 rupees, for which an equivalent on new gold was ordered to be given by the King; the money was sent from the treasury, but very little of it reached its proper owner, as the Myo-Woon, on various pretences, managed to secure the lion's share.

Till I came to Bamò I never saw more than one or two drunken Burmese; but here I have met with several, both of them and of the Chinese, stinking of arrack, and drunk even to stupefaction. The Kakhyeens, too, like most mountaineers, are reported to be

notorious swillers. They make several kinds of rice-toddy and arrack, which are habitually used by men, women, and children. Opium, too, is eaten by them, and smoked to a great extent. These vices of drinking and opium-eating, combined with the absence of any common rule or authority, will ever be fatal hindrances to their improvement. The establishment of some paramount authority seems to be the first requisite; but how far such unity would be advantageous to Burmah is another question.

Had a visit in the afternoon from a Shan villager, who had travelled since early morning (but whether twelve or twenty miles, I could not make out) to consult me about a cure for his father, who was lame from rheumatism. Having heard of my presence, he had seized the first opportunity of seeing me. The country to the east was fertile and full of villages, and he had passed through four of these on his way to Bamò. Having prescribed, the poor fellow started at once, as he was anxious to reach his home ("Theming," he called it) before dark.

In conversing with the Chinese I have generally found it impossible to get them either to *seem* to understand, or to reply sensibly, when I spoke simply as one desiring information; but on turning the manner of talking on the same subject into that of a merchant, they were readier to give their opinion about buying and selling, as well as about the choice of routes. This is partly a Celestial habit of suspicion, and partly an instinctive tendency to conceal the truth from any one in an official position. Any one who has observed the Chinese can feel that Huc's book on China is true, and that boldness and assurance are much more effective in

dealing with them than simple politeness and conciliation. The Chinese who first visited me took off their shoes at the steps, sat down as if before a Burman king, and behaved respectfully. Not thinking it fair that they should take off their shoes, I asked them on leaving whether such was the custom in their own country; to which they replied, "Our custom is the same as yours; we wear our shoes even in our temples." I requested them to follow their own fashion in future, and they seemed to appreciate my civility; but, lo! on the morrow not only did they wear their shoes and walk about quite at home, but lolled in my chairs, threw their tails over their shoulders; and when tea was brought in, one insisted on doing the honours, and did do them, as if he had been an old and intimate acquaintance. Notwithstanding my sufferance of all this freedom and familiarity, I could get nothing out of them touching the route northward. They met me on every side with evasive replies, till, losing patience, I had to bow them out; and even this they took with the greatest indifference and nonchalance. The rough stern manner of the Nakandan is far more effectual with these fellows than any courtesy or civility of mine.

In the evening went out to the swamps and shot several "yay-chiks" and a snipe, the only one I have seen on the Irawaddi since leaving Rangoon. On my return a knot of "pigtails" surrounded me, and one, more communicative than his neighbours, explained to me that the Samney or Thamney fur, so highly prized, is from an animal about the size of a small dog that lives in the mountains, and is very difficult to catch. The fur is close and long, and every fragment of the skin is made use of. When the route was open, skins

were brought down the country every year, but now scarcely a single specimen can be obtained.

My attendant, Raj Singh, has returned from his trip to the Kakhyeen village; and although he did not see the Momouk chief, he met another Tsaubwa, who had come down from the hills with a dozen of his men in search of a runaway slave. With this dignitary Raj Singh talked all day through the Assamese, who were acquainted with the Kakhyeen tongue. As preface to the conversation, they told the Tsaubwa that the poor fellow (meaning R. S.) was a little "gone," and had a mania for *mapping* everything. Notwithstanding this information the Kakhyeen was most communicative, and told him there were many routes between Upper Burmah and Yunan, some leading to Momein, and others to Tali-foo. The best route, he thought, was that from Sawuddy (the village in which the inhabitants were so alert against the Kakhyeens) right across the mountains, where there were several comparatively easy passes. The Chinese had offered the King of Burmah a lac to open this route and close that of Bamò; but this his majesty refused, being advised that in the case of war Bamò would form the best outpost; and if the trade were removed from it, the inhabitants would leave and the place would go to ruin. As for himself, he could conduct and give protection through his own district, but could not engage further; for though some chiefs were his friends, and might listen to his requests, others were the reverse, and were sure to rob and molest the unprotected. Not knowing that Raj Singh be-

longed to me, he asked where the Englishman was who had recently arrived at Bamò, thus showing how rapidly information is circulated through these wild tribes, and how much alive every one is to the movements of his neighbours. He had heard, too, of the war between the Chinese and the Foreigners, but was sadly behind in his knowledge of events, and seemed occasionally to confound the English war with the insurrection of the Pansees. Raj Singh put him right on some of the many matters he touched on, and in return received some curious information respecting the manners and customs of the Kakhyeens.

The tribes are at perpetual war with each other, but the Matting Tsaubwa was the most powerful, and had the most extensive sway. The people were all much addicted to opium-eating and arrack-drinking, and often suffered privations to indulge in these vices. They made three kinds of arrack—one a fermented rice-toddy, another a strong coarse liquor obtained from the rice-husks, and a third cooked and distilled, and resembling that of the Chinese. The chiefs receive a leg of every animal slaughtered, and a basket of paddy from every man in their district once a-year. Besides this supply, their own paddy is grown by the people giving one day to cutting the jungle, another to prepare the ground, a third to sow, and a fourth to reap. At feasts and other felicitous occasions a portion of the good things is sent to the chief, and a cup of every pot of arrack or toddy that is made is also expected. Each chief has also his own slaves and dependants to work and grow paddy for him, in addition to the above-mentioned contributions; and this is disposed of in treating strangers, supplying villages that have been plundered, and in

other charitable ways. When a chief wishes his people to assemble on a certain day, he kills an ox, cooks and offers the meat to the Nats, and then makes it into little balls, wrapped in plantain leaf and tied with cane, one band of which means after one day, two bands after two days, and so on, according to distance, that the recipients, far and near, may arrive at the same time. Though the power of the chiefs is thus all but absolute, any case of gross oppression is sure to be resented by a rebellion and the murder of the offending ruler, as happened in the following instance :—A troublesome chief complained that the legs of meat sent him were too dry, and that henceforth they must be presented in a fresh and juicy condition. When brought from a distance in this state they became putrid and were rejected; and thus the poor subjects, driven to desperation, rose, murdered the oppressor, and elected another in his stead.

If any individual suffers an injury, such as the murder of a father, a brother, or son, he waits till he has sufficient funds to feed and reward his friends, and then uses the same means as the chief to assemble them for the revenge. These people never forget an injury. The dying father bequeaths to his son the revenge on those who have robbed or in any way insulted him, and vengeance quietly waits its time. In this way every village is always afraid of some other village, and every chief some old score to settle with his neighbour. This vengeance-penalty is generally exacted once a-year, and every preparation and precaution taken for its fulfilment. Even inanimate objects come in for their share. Thus if some friend or relative has been drowned in crossing a river, the avenger repairs once a-year to the

banks, and, filling a bamboo vessel with the water, hews it through with his dah as if he were despatching a living enemy! They have no writing, and say that when God first made the world He gave to all nations letters; but the Kakhyeens, getting hungry, swallowed the skin on which their letters were set, and hence they carry their writing in their breast—meaning thereby that the habit of writing makes a poor memory, while those who cannot write trust to their memories and never forget. The roads through the Kakhyeen country are formed by the inhabitants of each district, who try, for the sake of the pass-money, to get merchants to frequent their route. If this be the case, it does not seem hopeless to attempt to establish a route for English commerce.

I find from conversations which Raj Singh has had with the Nikandan that my visit and investigations are not specially acceptable to the local authority. He complains that I have engaged one of his servants. Raj Singh tells him that the poor fellow could not live on what he got from him, and therefore must serve where he can live. He complains of our seeking information through his people. Raj Singh tells him that, from information received from Rangoon and Calcutta, we know all about the country between Burmah and China. The truth is, the Woon seems to have a dread lest we should make friends with the Pansees, who have a score to settle with the people of Bamò for the death of several of their countrymen, who were slain at the instigation of the Chinese residents when the war broke out with the Pansees.

21*st*.—The day being favourable, I took photographs of the old Woon and of some Chinamen who were at his house. In the evening, attracted by their forge-

Woon or Governor of Bamo.

fires, I paid a visit to some Mintha Shan smiths. Their smithy was a very primitive affair: a square of brickwork sheltered by a scanty shed, having the bellows at one side and a small sleeping-chamber screened off at the other by a mat of bamboo-plaiting. The bellows was a simple tube of wood about nine inches in diameter, worked by a piston, and having its vent in the middle and a valve at each end, which admitted but did not let out the air. This tube was laid horizontally and worked by a boy, and gave a much stronger blast than the Burmese vertical tubes, with their feathered pistons. The anvil was a post about six inches in diameter and two feet in height,

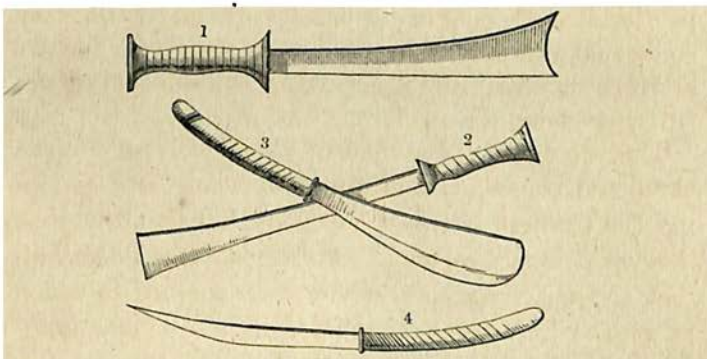
with an iron top. Their hammers were light, and the pincers, clips, and other tools seemed very much like those of our own country. These Shans were very civil, and seemed pleased with the interest taken in their work. Some of them spoke a few words of Burmese, and despite their strange weird look I rather liked their appearance. They were honest, hard-working fellows, and, though short and muscular, were as pale and sickly-looking as hard work and little sleep could make them. They come here every year for two or three months, and leave their bellows and forges till their next return.

I made inquiries at one of these sons of Vulcan about the iron and steel they were using, and he told me the Chinese iron was not good, but that the steel they sold was excellent. A Burman reminded him that the latter was of English manufacture, to which he assented. I think it worthy of notice, in a commercial point of view, that the Chinese iron is bad, and that they sell English steel, convinced that a cheap and inexhaustible supply of the latter could be obtained from the hills east of Mandalay.*

It seems the custom for any one who wishes to have a dah to supply the iron, and these smiths for a small sum (equal to a shilling or eighteenpence) produce the finished article. I saw old dahs and Chinese

* The author refers to the Hills of Seebeing, about two days' journey east of Mandalay, and which were visited by him in June 1862. These hills he found to consist of gneiss, siliceous schist, and slaty crystalline limestone, everywhere intersected by veins or rather veinlike masses of magnetic iron oxide, thousands of tons of which could be taken from the surface by the simplest process of quarrying. On trial this ore was found to yield about 68 per cent of pure iron, which was readily converted into steel of the finest quality by the Wootz process.

iron pots in process of conversion into new dahs and other less formidable implements. The favourite form seemed to be the Kakhyeen, with single edge, short handle, and broad concave end. Next came the Shan dah, very much like the Kakhyeen, but longer, with a central edge and straight broad end. The Burmese dah, with rounded end and long handle for rough heavy work, was also being manufactured, and the



1. Kakhyeen dah; 2. Shan do.; 3. Burmese do.; 4. Burmese dah-luey.

dah-luey or sword proper, some straight, others curved, some one-edged and pointed, others with blunt rounded ends, but all with long handles. In some of the smithies they had these weapons of various fashions mounted in scabbards and ready for sale.

22*d.*—Before breakfast walked to the north gate, which is placed in a bastion or square projection of the palisade, with a slightly elevated watch-tower and other appurtenances. Outside the gate I crossed the mouth of the nullah which runs to the east of the town, and found it substantially blocked up from the river by a dam and roadway, thus showing the energy and advancement of the former inhabitants.

Inside the walls I passed a well-carved monastery built on a plan somewhat different from the general one, the chief part of the kyoung being surrounded by smaller buildings. The carving of the eaves, doorways, and other portions of the edifice, is in high relief, and elaborately filled in with floral designs and grotesque figures.

To-day two Shans came to see me, and finding them intelligent and communicative, I took them into my room, and got a good deal of assistance from them in transposing and putting into proportion the sketch-maps brought by Raj Singh after his interview with the Kakhyeen chiefs. These men, who seemed honest fellows, and very superior to any of the Kakhyeens, Paloungs, or Toungthoos I had yet met, had come from Mingmo with about a hundred bullocks. They made a sketch-map of the country themselves, and from the agreement of this with that obtained from the Kakhyeen Tsaubwas, I feel there will be little difficulty in constructing a satisfactory outline of the routes. On further conversation they told me they were *Shangyees*, or true Shans, and that the other so-called Shan tribes were Paloungs, Toungthoos, Yans, and Payings. They also very strangely claimed the Assamese as Shan, but this may have arisen from their knowing that the existing Assam dynasty is of Shan origin. Many Yans, they said, were at Moné and Theeboo, and Shangyees were found down as far as the English territory. Many of the Mingmo Shans had migrated to the English side, and wrote that the English Ming was very good, and did not oppress or trouble them at all. On turning the conversation to merchandise, they told me they could sell gold, copper,

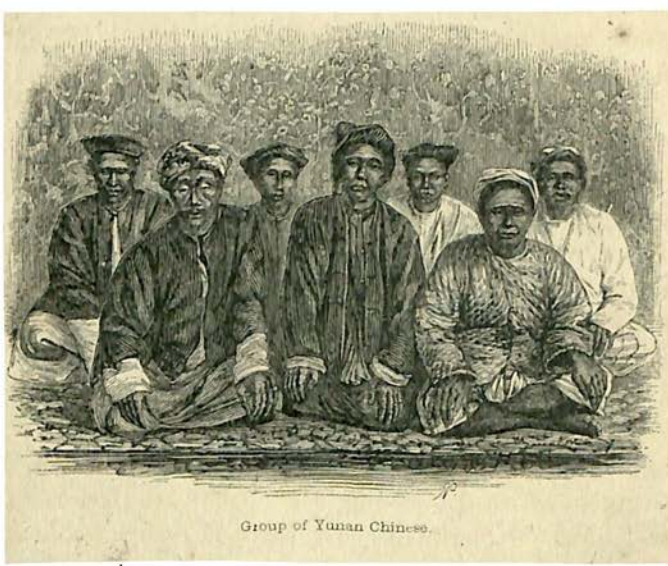
and silk, and that they could buy for the Chinese and Shan markets broadcloths (blue, black, and green), muslins, common silks, cotton cloths of all descriptions, and of the same colour as the broadcloths, strong white calicoes, cutlery, and small-wares.

These Shans appeared to be on friendly terms with the Pansees, and said they had soldiered with them against the Chinese and the Kakhyeens. The Pansees, they said, were in possession of a large portion of Western China, and were then contesting other districts with the Chinese rulers. Tuyan-Sueing, the Pansee governor of Tali, had been elected out of thirty-two chiefs whose combination had overturned the Chinese authority; and as each chief was desirous of the honoured post, the election had been decided by the result of Shikoing to the Natgyee or Great Spirit. Thirty-one of them took ill during the ordeal, and so Tuyan-Sueing, who had withstood the trial, obtained the throne. They invited me to their country, and assured me nothing was to be feared from the Kakhyeens if I put myself under their protection.

23*d*.—Photographed various groups and buildings during the forenoon, but with indifferent success owing to the damaged condition of my materials. Took a stroll in the afternoon with Poza and Minatally to the jheel and swamp-lands to the south of the town; but though we saw flocks of ducks and darters and a few snipes, they were all too wary to let us within gun-shot. The country here, and for many miles to the south and east, seems rather sandy, though largely used as paddy-ground by the townspeople and villagers. On our return we passed several Kakhyeens entering the city — one a broad-set fierce-looking

Tsaubwa, with his musket over his shoulder, his boy driving a bullock with a pair of basket-panniers, and a knot of women bringing up the rear. The women were by no means repulsive in features; indeed, some of the girls were rather fresh, plump, and prepossessing; but the men, sinewy and dirty, sinister-looking and wary, seemed on the whole a set of thorough vagabonds.

24*th.*—Engaged in the early part of the day in taking groups of the Chinese and Kakhyeens, and in performing surgical operations—my fame in this respect extending much farther than I care for. After a world of disputation and haggling, got the boat affair



Group of Yunan Chinese.

settled before the Nikandan—the principle here being to overcharge everything, to deny everything, and, when the balance is struck, to have the effrontery to

ask a small discount by way of good fellowship! In the evening got the "eventful history" of my man Minatally, who amid his many wanderings had been at Taping and a good deal among the Kakhyeens, and thus may prove useful to me when up the country.

25*th.*—Had a long conversation with the Nikandan, who is a very frequent, though not always a welcome, visitor at my house. He discusses the various routes to the Chinese frontier with freedom, but is evidently bent upon dissuading me from the journey. The best route, he says, is by Taping to Sawadie; though he knows that the Burmans now on a royal mission to the Pansees have gone *viâ* Taping and Matting! I suggested that if I went to Momein the Woon might recommend me to the care of the Kakhyeen Tsaubwa when passing through his district; but he merely shook his head and said, "There is no influence over them." Affirming my determination to proceed, and that I should want three or four trustworthy Burmans in addition to my own men, he shook his head still more gravely, and, drawing his handkerchief across his throat with a significant gesture, whispered, "Ching kring." I suggested the Momein Woon might supply me with men, but he only seemed more uneasy, and said, "Do not speak of this to me." The poor fellow is a Talavè, has a younger brother with Colonel Phayre, and speaks well of the English, but is evidently afraid to commit himself in any way so as to get into trouble.

26*th.*—Towards evening the Nikandan, Tsiké, and several of the clerks of court, stopped before my house, and one by one going home, the Nikandan was left alone and came in. After some persuasion and a little flattery he was induced to accept of a silk *putso*, and

then in conversation told me as a great secret that some Pansees were in Bamò wishing to purchase muskets, that they must remain till permission had been obtained from the King, and that when they returned I might join them, and so reach Yunan in safety! As he was detailing this bit of secret information, Minatally came in bringing the same news, and telling me how he had been accosted on the street by an old acquaintance, a Burman Shan, who was acting as interpreter to these Pansees. Here was something, and to be acted upon; but how it was to be accomplished, seeing that the Woon had forbidden this man upon pain of death to hold any intercourse with me or my people, was the question. Not wishing to involve the Nikandan, nor to give offence to the Woon, I left the matter in the hands of Minatally, and through him learned that the Pansees were now in possession of Tali and Momein, that the Chinese had submitted, and that only a few of the Shan states held out against the new power; and further, that the Chinese had agreed to pay the customs to the Pansees, and that the trade-route to Burmah would shortly be open. The interpreter affirmed also that in two or three months he expected a caravan from Momein to Bamò. This I did not altogether credit; and even admitting it to be partly true, I could not afford to waste so much time on a mere chance, and so adhered to my resolution to proceed immediately northward.

27*th.*—This morning I despatched two of my servants by boat to the Taping with my luggage. To-morrow I start with Minatally and Syee on ponies, and expect to reach the Taping in the evening, and about the same time as the boat.

A RUN TO THE TAPING.

THE TAPING RIVER—VILLAGE OF INGTHA—THE DEFILE OF THE TAPING—THE JHEEL OR LAKE—WATER-BIRDS—THE GYOJA—GIGANTIC BUFFALO—CHINESE DISTILLERS—THEIR STILLS—GROUPS OF MOUNTAINEERS—THEIR DRESS AND ACCOUTREMENTS—THE VILLAGERS AND KAKHYEENS—VILLAGE LIFE AT INGTHA—MARRIAGE CUSTOMS—WOMAN'S RIGHTS—EMPLOYMENT OF THE GIRLS—BURMESE LIQUOR LAW AND ITS RESULTS—VISIT TO SUSSENAH—THE PUEY OR PLAY—ADIEU TO THE TAPING.

28*th February to* 9*th March.* — Left Raj Singh and Moung Weit in charge of my Bamò house, and started with Minatally and Syee for the Taping Kyoung district—guides being furnished from village to village according to order by the Woon, who had now so far befriended me. Beyond the village of Suseenah, we crossed the Taping about half a mile above its junction with the Irawaddi, and found it 12 feet deep and 50 yards wide. We then continued over a flat country of low jungle, wild grass, and rice-fields to the E.N.E., till about four o'clock, when we reached the triple village of Ingtha on the right bank, and about eighteen miles from Bamò. From the appearance of the country, the whole seems to be overflowed during the wet season. We passed several sites of old villages

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now deserted, and marked only by the lime and orange trees and some garden flowers blooming amongst degenerate plantains. Though there are still a number of populous and thriving villages along the banks, the extent of grass-jungle that bore marks of cultivation showed how much more populous the tract must have been in former days. The Kakhyeens are dreaded everywhere, as testified by the thickly placed watch-towers along the rice-fields and the double-fenced villages.

Ingtha was formerly a large single village, but the depredations of their wild neighbours, and, as the inhabitants expressed it, the *heat* of the Government, have caused desertion and decay till the one has split into three—Ingtha, Sikō, and Inthè. The inhabitants are Shans, many of them of mixed blood with the Burmans. They speak of good old times, when Kakhyeens were unknown in their neighbourhood, and when the whole country was cultivated, and they lived happily under their own rulers. For miles above and below this the land is excellent for rice-growing; and though large tracts are now cultivated, still more is lying in grass-jungle that was formerly productive. A great portion of the land has been abandoned within the last ten years, the exactions of the officials being overwhelming, and there being no royal regulations to keep them in check. During the last two years, however, things have somewhat improved, and a regular tax (6½ tikals per house, 6 baskets of paddy for each buffalo, and 10 baskets for every hundred harvested) has been imposed on the inhabitants. By way of encouragement, newly reclaimed land remains untaxed for a period of three years.

Some days after my arrival (March 7th), I went to see the defile through which the Taping issues from the Kakhyeen mountains. The banks of the river up to the defile are of the same clayey rock that stretches from the east end of the second defile of the Irawaddi from Koungtoung to Bamò and to an unknown distance beyond. The cliffs of the defile, however, are of the same limestone as the Irawaddi defile, but harder and much more varied in colour, being frequently beautifully striped and veined (red, blue, and grey), and the strata suddenly twisted and contorted. The cliffs are covered with trees and jungle down within a few feet of the water, and a society of short-tailed brown monkeys were clamouring among the branches. Nowhere were there signs of a rise more than 8 or 10 feet above the present low-water level, though during the rains it may occasionally rise a little higher. The breadth of this Taping defile was about 30 yards, the current slow, and a pole 12 feet long failed to reach the bottom. A little higher up the channel became encumbered with rocks, and the current was broken and rapid, and altogether unnavigable. We were late in returning from our trip, and found the friendly Kyoung-ook quite anxious about our safety. The Kakhyeens inhabit the hills on each side the defile, and those on the opposite side are at present at loggerheads with our host.

The jheel or lake of Maloung which I visited on the 2d is an expansion of a branch of the river which turns off at the old town of Tsempenago. This lake lies to the N.W. of Ingtha, and is at present about a mile long and half a mile broad, and about 10 feet deep, though during the rains it must be double that depth

and several miles in extent. Its shores are fringed with a luxuriant growth of equisetums, while over its surface are studded clusters of water-lilies and other aquatic plants, through which our little craft could with difficulty be pushed. On the rising-ground to the east is situated the Shan village of Maloung, numbering about forty houses—rather larger than usual, and so elevated as to allow the buffaloes to be passed underneath. A kyoung and several pagodas looked down from the high ground on the lake; the wa-bo or officer-bamboo, with its graceful tufts, the mango, jack-fruit, and other large trees planted in the spaces between the houses, gave a picturesque effect to the village. Hundreds of waterfowl—ducks, teal, cormorants, darters, scissor-bills, &c.—thronged the waters, and afforded abundant sport; while a small bird (wombey-sisallee, the natives call it) with half-webbed feet, sparrow-bill, and short wing, which only enables it to fly along the surface, could be brought down in dozens.

Between this jheel and the cluster of houses near Ingtha lies a track of paddy-land interspersed with tall grass jungle, and frequented at this season by large flocks of the "gyoja" (Bur.)—*Grus Antigone.* These birds are extremely handsome, and stand when erect nearly as high as a man. Ever on the alert, they seldom give the sportsman a chance of approaching them, unless it can be managed by stratagem. I wasted much powder and shot on them, and only succeeded in securing a male by creeping and walking under cover of my pony in the stealthiest and wariest manner. Minatally also secured a female one evening when we went by boat to their sleeping-ground—the sandbanks close to the water's edge, where every night

they assemble in flocks and keep up a constant call to each other. The male bird has a brilliant scarlet head and neck, and the head of the female is also tinged with the same hue, while all the rest of the plumage is of a delicate slate colour. These birds come from the east about the time of the rice harvest, and leave on the approach of the rains. Another bird which I have not seen elsewhere is a white kite, with black tips to the wings and tail; but I did not succeed in securing a specimen.

For agricultural purposes, buffaloes are here used instead of oxen, as they can work with impunity where the mud and water would disable or sicken the latter. They are fine well-fed animals, and one of those at Ingtha had the most remarkable head of horns I ever witnessed. I measured and found them 8 feet 8 inches in length and 6 feet 10 inches from tip to tip, the forehead being only 8 inches between the horns. This enormous head-gear seemed little in the way, and on entering the village or his yard by the narrow gateway this noble and gentle fellow had learned to pass one horn first so as to get through.

The village of Theea, about six miles to the N.N.E. of Ingtha, is prettily situated close to the Kakhyeen mountains, but pays for its romantic proximity in more frequent and heavier contributions of black-mail than those nearer the river. The raids of these mountaineers are always made in a wild and irregular way. Should they need some arrack or other commodity, they ask it from the headsman of the village; and if it be refused, and they feel themselves strong enough, the village is probably fired, or straggling individuals are caught and carried away into slavery, murdered, or returned for a

ransom, according to the humour of the marauders. In some way or other the debt of non-compliance is paid off with ample interest, and serves as a warning against future refusals. On account of the expenses incurred in satisfying these savages, Theea is very considerately exempted from some of the Government taxation.

Close to the north-west of Sikō village is a street of Chinese arrack distillers, and salt and cotton dealers, who form a little community by themselves, fenced in on the land side like their neighbours by a palisading of bamboo. Nearly every house at the time of my visit had three or four stills at work, and these of a very simple construction. Rice, mixed with water, is placed in a large pot or tub, with something added to excite fermentation; and when this is sufficiently advanced, the contents are transferred to a large saucer-shaped iron pan placed over a gentle fire. Over this pan is inverted a tub whose edge rests within the rim of the former vessel, their junction being luted with refuse rice to close up any orifices. From the side of the tub a bamboo tube about a foot and a half in length leads to the double wall of a large bowl, in which cold water is placed and replaced, the condensed spirit falling through a hole in the bottom of the outer wall into a jar placed there to receive it. Close by the still-room were stores of salt, this being at present one of the chief articles of trade with the Kakhyeens, who come down for it, and bring in exchange silver, and occasionally cotton.

Several troops of these wild-looking mountaineers came and went while I was at Ingtha. Miserable-looking ponies, mules, or donkeys trotted along with

their burdens; while their attendants, some riding and others walking, generally returned to their hills as full of arrack as their poor beasts were heavily laden with merchandise. They are always armed, some with a musket, others with a sword, and some with both; and seem to appreciate the Burman dah, the hilt of which was generally ornamented with a tuft of red horse-hair; red being their favourite colour in ornament as well as in dress. The women wear a petticoat open and drooping at one side, bound above the hips, and usually showing the navel. A short shirt or tunic, and, if married, a roll of cloth round the head, completed

Kakhyeen Chief's Wife and Attendants.

their drapery. A waistbelt covered with cowries, and twenty to a hundred strings of fine plaited cane, white and black, generally enrich their ample loins. Few of the women are really good-looking, but many of the younger girls are plump and not far from pretty. The men sometimes wear short pants, but more frequently

the same scanty putso as the women, and waistcloths and often jackets like the Shans and Burmese. Their hair is generally cut so as to fall short of their eyes, and left to take care of itself. A few, however, wear headcloths of dark-blue cotton homespun, but these were generally the older men. Besides the above, some of the wealthier wear a wrapper of striped red and black cotton stuff, whose texture is so close that it is said to be a good year's work for a Kakhyeen woman to produce one. Most of them also carry one or two service-bags of red and black cloth, ornamented with native embroidery, covers, and tassels. These men all walk with the short step of the mountaineer, seem muscular fellows, and in looking into their countenances I was constantly reminded of the schoolbook portraits of Tartars.

The difficulties between these mountaineers and the people of the plains appear to be very frequent, and often arise from the most trifling causes; the former being of very uncertain temper, and ready to use their weapons on the slightest provocation, and the latter too timid to offer the necessary resistance. I saw a Kakhyeen, whom a woman accused of threatening her with his sword, sent from the Chinese village with very evident care that he should not be offended; and Minatally tells me he has known of instances in which these men have been caught stealing or committing some other crime, and yet were released from confinement, and even got presents, to appease them and prevent vengeance. Occasionally the villagers are courageous enough to take summary measures with these aggressors, as they did two years ago at Ingtha, where four Kakhyeen marauders were seized and killed out-

side the gate. One of the murdered men was brother to a neighbouring chief, who promptly took up the quarrel, but was propitiated by a large ransom, and agreed to let the matter rest. According to Kakhyeen custom the agreement was made permanent and binding by cutting notches in a bamboo and handing it to the stipulating party; but now the grievance is revived, and the chief threatens to fire the village unless further satisfaction be given. So constant, indeed, is the dread of these marauders, that every village is furnished with turrets within the fences, where all the men sleep and watch by turn in the upper storey, while only the women and children remain in the houses. No man would think of going unarmed to the paddy-field or next village, and few would venture alone for any distance in the country. When I went to Theea, six men were made to accompany me; and they tell me they would not go to Tali unless with a party of fifteen or twenty.

Notwithstanding these unpleasant relations, these villagers trust the Kakhyeens with the price of salt and other commodities, and tell me they rarely fail to fulfil their engagements—paying a debt and keeping one's word being evidently regarded as a virtue, while robbery and murder are scarcely considered a sin. The majority of the inhabitants of these villages are simple cultivators of paddy, only a few of them dealing in cotton, salt, or other merchandise. Some of them are deemed rich, lend paddy to the less fortunate at a percentage until the return of harvest, and thus act as pawnbrokers both to their neighbours and to the Kakhyeens. The Thoogyee or Myo-koung showed me a number of his pledges from the latter, consisting of

muskets, gongs, necklaces, &c., so like are necessities and customs in the most distant parts of the world!

While here I saw much of the quiet routine of village life. Some of my neighbours were good, simple, industrious people, whom I could not help liking. One, the wife of a salt merchant, at whose family hearth I occasionally sat during the evening, told me of the sinking of their boat and the loss of the cargo, and how heavy the loss had borne upon them; and yet with a cheerful smiling face showed how active the precepts of "resignation to the inconstancy of things" were in helping her happiness. Her daughter, a plain-looking girl of fifteen, would sit by and stop her cotton-spinning to roll me a cheroot, ask of me some English paper to make ear-tubes of, and put questions, often puzzling ones, about English girls and English customs. Nearer my lodging in the headsman's house was another family, in which a peculiar social custom among the Burmese was strikingly illustrated. This family consisted of the father, a quiet man, who liked a little arrack and sometimes opium; the wife an industrious woman, who evidently held uncontrolled sway; the mother-in-law, who smoked her pipe in silence, and did what her daughter told her; and the daughter, whose matrimonial prospects the mother managed entirely for her own benefit. This young woman, now about twenty, had had several husbands, who according to custom dwelt with her in her parents' house. All had been one after another dismissed by the mother, whose demands on their submission, their labour, or their purse, could not be satisfied. This girl, still called a girl, remained with her parents; and though she could leave the house with any husband once accepted by

them, and would then be beyond their control or interference, she seemed to prefer being the household drudge of her mother to sharing the lot with her husband. One very eligible young man, wishing to attract her and induce her to share his home, obtained the consent of the father, and was liked by the girl herself, but the mother interfered, and even after the offer of a considerable sum decided that no one should have her daughter who would not consent to work for them all. She had no objection to have another slave added to her household, but was by no means inclined to part with the one she had. This was nothing: but that the young woman, who was really inclined to her lover, should quietly submit, was suggestive of the evil results of the lax intercourse that subsists among the sexes from their earliest years in weakening the affections, and above all that devoted attachment to one which lies at the root of all domestic happiness. The position of women in Burmah is full of interest. Civilly she has remarkably just and fair rights; and in this her position is more independent and better protected than in most other countries. Divorce is an easy, effective, and well-used weapon of defence against marital oppression or disagreement. She has full rights of property and of justice, and can either plead her own case in person or employ an advocate as she pleases. But the early commerce of the sexes destroys everything like the fondness of love, and to Burman women the tender passion as known among us may be said to be a thing unknown. The Shans have similar customs and habits of acting and thinking, but in matters of love-making are by no means so lax and promiscuous.

In the village of Ingtha most of the houses possessed a loom on which the girls wove putsos and temeins from home-spun and British twist. The various processes of weaving, and the husking and cleaning of the staple food, formed constant employment for the young females, whom I seldom saw idle. But at this season so much could not be said of the men, their only industry being a little cultivation by artificial irrigation. For this purpose they employ the Persian wheel, and two or three of these I saw at work below the village of Sikō. In the now dry and stubbly rice-fields I found a few wild strawberries, but tried in vain to fancy a resemblance between this tough and insipid fruit and that of our own luscious varieties at home.

In my rambles about Ingtha I sometimes met in with the two or three Hindoostanee, who had remained after the melting away of their detachment. One, a quiet decent fellow, has married and settled down among the villagers, who esteem him for his honesty and industry, but the other two seem ready for any or every adventure. From them (though hardly reliable) I learned that the Woon had sent orders from Bamò not to give me any information as to the country beyond; and coupling this with what I learned from the Thoogyee, and with the other circumstances of the Woon's conduct to myself, I fear there are unseen difficulties in this quarter. However, forewarned forearmed.

While at Ingtha a striking example occurred of the stupid impracticability of some new royal orders, as well as of the stupid arrangements to secure their enforcement. The Burman Maine Liquor Law, and that prohibiting the slaughter of animals within certain

limits, had found their way up here—procured, I have no doubt, by the officials, who foresaw a source of profit to themselves in permitting their infringement. Two messengers came up from Bamò with the Woon's order to stop all the distillers, and to prohibit any traffic whatever in their produce. The Chinese were called together, and the royal decree read to them; but they by no means looked so astonished as men may be supposed to do who hear for the first time of their ruin and degradation. They evidently saw their way from the first, and offered ten rupees to the officers if they would not destroy their stills. This was too low a figure; 30 were asked; finally, 27 were accepted and taken as the compromise, and the stock and materials of the distillers were left untouched. For a few days no arrack was *publicly* distilled, but the headsman of the district made no secret of the fact that this would only last for a short time, and that the sale and consumption would meantime go on as usual in *private*. The 27 rupees were given to the messengers from Bamò, but how much of it will reach the Woon himself is another question. The open manner in which this affair was managed greatly surprised me, and gave me some insight into the cause of the failure of many of the Government measures. It was the talk of the village for the two or three days during which the Chinese were bargaining with the messengers—the headsman persuading the one to give, the other to modify their demands. On all sides they seemed to view the matter in its true light, and acted accordingly.

In the morning of the 8th I left Ingtha, and after riding for a couple of miles got into a Paing galley (a large flat-bottomed boat) and reached Suseenah late in

the afternoon. The puey had already commenced. Crowds of boats of all sizes thronged the water's edge; huts were already up in long lines and others in course of erection; and the theatre and temporary residences for the officials were finished and tenanted. From what I observed of the Taping river, it would be possible, but difficult for steamers to navigate it at this season so far as Ingtha; but during the rainy season (June till October) there would be no obstacle—there being no rocks in this portion of its course. On coming down we passed several "duns," or deep-bottomed boats, on their way up stream; and these must have been drawing at least six feet of water. Beyond Ingtha up to the rocks of the defile there is neither difficulty nor inducement to the navigation of the river.

It will be long before I forget the week spent in this quiet Shan village beneath the shade of the Kakhyeen mountains, and at the bursting forth from their recesses of one of the finest tributaries of the noble Irawaddi. The Kyoung-ook, with his small face, grey mustache, cautious eyes, and friendly manner, will be a long-remembered host. The village Toman or Thoogyee, a simple, good-tempered Shan, and others of both sexes, whose kind offices often anticipated my wishes, will leave a genial if not a fond recollection.

RETURN TO BAMÒ.

VISIT SUSEENAH—THE PUEY—INTRODUCED TO THE TSIKÉ—HIS INTENDED VISIT TO BODWIN AND THE MINES—AT THE PUEY AGAIN—A PANSEE AGENT—THE WOON'S OBSTRUCTIONS TO MY PROCEEDING NORTHWARD—THE PANSEE AGENT AND THE DIFFERENT TRADE-ROUTES—THE PANSEES AND THEIR POSITION—VISIT THE BAZAAR—END OF THE PUEY—RETURN TO BAMÒ—LETTERS FROM HOME AND FROM MANDALAY—KAKHYEEN CHIEFS VISIT THE WOON—THE WOON REFUSES CONSENT—APPEALS TO THE KING—DIFFICULTIES WITH THE WOON—DESPATCH RAJ SINGH TO MANDALAY.

9*th. March* 1863.—Went this morning to Suseenah, and after riding through the bazaar, which was crowded on all sides, crossed over to the theatre. The old Woon and family were in their stage-box, or rather, in reference to a European playhouse, they occupied the stage, while the players performed in the pit. On seeing me enter, the Woon had the rug I gave him spread out in front of the officials, who were sitting on the verandah a few inches lower than that of his box, and invited me to sit down. In the arena a Lat Puey, or historical drama, was being performed by the same company we had met at Tagoung. A little behind the Woon was his wife, and still further back a number of her female attendants, old and young, all highly intent on the play,

and evidently delighted with the performance. Both the Woon and his lady were extremely polite; the great silver bowl of water, with a silver tankard floating in it, was brought for me to drink, and a lighted cheroot put into my hand. When tired of the play, or rather of the posture (squatting in Oriental fashion on the rug), I rose and retired to the Nikandan's temporary house. Among the officials were one of the Tsikés, a nephew of the north queen, who had just returned from Mandalay, and was on his way to Bodwin, the silver mine up in the Kakhyeen mountains. He asked me where I was going, and what my object, and did not seem at all surprised at my saying I intended to proceed as far as Pekin. Returned to Bamò in the evening.

10*th*.—Went again to the Susseenah puey, which was livelier and much more crowded than yesterday. About thirty women and girls from one quarter of the town came in as a sort of ballet-company, and danced for some time, after which the Moutshobo actors proceeded with the drama. The Tsiké whom I met yesterday conversed with me freely, and asked me to accompany him to Bodwin, to which I consented. In the course of conversation he told me that the Shans, who were formerly under the Chinese, and now nominally under the Pansees, were heartily tired of both, and wished to put themselves under Burmese rule, and that he is going northward to further this object. In the afternoon I found Raj Singh had been at the Assam village, where he had met a party of Kakhyeens who had come to conduct the Shan smiths back to their own country (Hola). They had brought a letter from the smiths' friends, saying that the Pansees were advancing upon them,

and urging them to return at once. These Kakhyeens volunteered to our party a safe escort to Hola; would travel at night in bad places, would keep watch at night, and be responsible for all that might befall us during the journey—a payment of ten rupees for each man, presents to the Tsaubwas of places passed through, of course, not included. They gave an account of the route, which was duly noted down by Raj Singh. In the evening paid a visit to the Woon, who had not been at the puey to-day, and told him of my intention to go to Mowun, and also that I thought it better to accompany the Tsiké to Bodwin, as it would show the friendship between the two Governments (Burmese and British), and be a sign to the Kakhyeens and Shans. He said nothing, but evidently did not relish the proposal. I remained all night at the little temporary house of the Nikandan, and had a long chat with the Tsiké, who improves on acquaintance.

11*th*.—Went to Bamò to breakfast, and then returned to the puey. Came in between the Woon and his son while the ballet was going on—the dancers this morning being a company of rather good-looking girls from the middle quarter. After this a cymbal-playing tumbler, with two drumming attendants, took the arena, and displayed his feats of agility till the arrival of the regular actors. During the play I observed not far from me the agent or interpreter to the "Bochap," or commander-in-chief of the Pansee forces, along with his son, to whom I had rendered some professional assistance. On rising to go to my room at the Nikandan's the interpreter followed me, and after a while began a long confidential conversation on the subject of the Pansee insurrection. He tells me that the Shan

district beyond the Kakhyeen hills is dangerous, but after passing this all was safe to Tali. The Shans and Pansees are now at war, and he of course naturally takes the side of the latter. A force will be sent to escort him back, and he wants me to wait till his return, when he will be glad of my company. He is an intelligent, determined-looking man, quite up to his diplomatic mission, I should say, and asks for my good word with the English governor. Whatever may be the intentions of Burmah with regard to the Shan country (and the people seem to lean to Burmah), my friend, the agent, who has been called to Mandalay to see the King, is quite competent to play his own part. He disclaims all ulterior intention on the part of the Pansees beyond the boundaries of China.

The *entourage* of the present moment, the busy fair, the gay theatres, the varied costume and features of Burmese, Shans, Kakhyeens, and Pansees, the friendly Tsiké and his lively chat, the hospitable Nikandan, the pompous old Woon on his elephant, his wife in her palanquin, and all the motley throng and *abandon* of the place, is a sight seldom seen, and ever to be remembered.

12*th*.—Was aroused this morning by the return of the Woon, who passed my "tey" (temporary house) with his drummers, cymballers, and other noisy retinue. Received his note in reply to mine of yesterday as to my going to Bodwin with the Tsiké. "He does not wish it; but if I must go, he will conduct me as far as the limits of his authority, which does not extend beyond the Taping district. The Kakhyeens do not obey him. The Tsiké may be murdered or not, he does not know; and in the Shan country they would take me

for a Pansee, and certainly kill me. If I do go, I must give him a letter that I do so against his advice and remonstrance." Left the puey early in the afternoon, and had a long chat with the Pansee agent, who still represents the Shan country as the most dangerous, because there both Shans and Chinese are at war with the Pansees. He informed me that it is three days' journey from Bodwin to the first Pansee town, and gave me the following time-route to Tali:—From Bodwin (Kakhyeen) one day to Maugin (Shan); thence one day to Sanda (Shan); thence one day to Mainla (Shan); thence one day to Mopoo (Pansee); thence half day to Maurtee; thence one day to Momein, where the Bochap resides for whom he is agent; thence four days to Yung-chang; and thence eight days to Tali, the seat of the Pansee Government. Several of the Shan chiefs, he said, had gone over to the Pansee side; but the majority were unfriendly, and were the aggressors. If I would consent to go with him he would write to the Bochap, and secure his good offices. In the evening the Nikandan very kindly came to my "tey," bringing with him some of the fair actresses to give me the pleasure of a song.

13*th*.—Tired of the noisy revelry of the fair and puey, I returned early to my temporary domicile, and had a long though not particularly auspicious account of the Pansees from my new friend the agent. He says the war was begun by the Pansees retreating to the hills and forests, whence they commenced a dacoity war on the Chinese towns and villages. Few in number, they contrived, by well-kept promises of booty and pillage, to gather to their side a great many discontented Chinese and Shans—the villanous and lawless

portion of the population, in fact. Their attacks are made chiefly at night, and they burn and destroy whatever remains after satisfying their troops with plunder. When a resisting place falls into their hands, the men and old women are murdered, the young women abandoned to the conquering dacoits, and the children made slaves of or sold into slavery. Bad as he admits the Panšees to be, they are not so inhuman as the rabble Chinese and Shans who fight against them. The Pansees, or Mohammedan Chinese proper, he reckons at little more than 20,000, but they have with them upwards of 200,000 of the above motley followers, besides some Kakhyeens; none of whom, however, are wholly on their side. In reply to my inquiries, the agent said he doubted whether the Pansee power would long sustain itself, on account of their dreadful habits of rapine and slaughter. The chiefs, he believed, were anxious to conciliate the people and reopen trade, but this was opposed by all the lower officials, who are merely with them for the sake of pillage and plunder. The populace of whatever territory is in their hands is continually exasperated against them, and as an example of this he pointed to the states of Sanda and Mainla, that had formerly submitted to their power, but were now in arms and bitter hostility against them. Even peaceful submission could not prevent the violence and rapine to which these conquerors had been accustomed. The daughters of the Tsaubwas themselves were not always safe; and quiet and inoffensive as the Shans naturally are, they could not stand to see their wives and daughters taken and outraged, and thus they had risen against their new lords, and with the remnant of the

resisting Chinese were fighting against them. The towns of Santa, Mainla, Hassa, and Lassa, are the only Shan places, the agent says, which are not in the hands of the Pansees. The chiefs, he said, were anxious to have Mussulmans from India to assist them, it being their ultimate wish to "finish China" (this must mean Yunan) and then to take possession of Burmah. For his own part, he professed he would rather like to see these parts in the hands of the English; but I explained to him that nothing but the opening of the trade was desired by them, and for this purpose they would exercise their influence, whoever might be masters of Yunan. In reply to further inquiries on this point, he seemed to think that I, as a disinterested party, might do good by mediating between the hostile tribes; and to assist in my getting among them, he once more offered to write to the Bochap. Altogether, from his description of the Pansee position (and he can scarcely be suspected of painting his patrons worse than they are), it is difficult to see how their power can have become permanent. It will no doubt be a fierce struggle between them and the orthodox Chinese; but woe to the present victors should they ever become the victims of their outraged and exasperated opponents!

In the evening, the Kyoung-ook whom I had visited in the morning came to return the call, bringing with him a Kakhyeen Tsaubwa from the Pun-lang mountains. The chief was a fine young fellow about thirty, with a bold and imperious expression, but with a soft civilised voice, in which he offered me a welcome reception at his village. We were scarcely seated when the Nikandan made his appearance, bringing with him

"the Princess" and several of the Bamò *corps dramatique*, and evidently bent on another evening's amusement.

The "Princess"—Bamo Company.

14*th*.—Had a long stroll through the bazaar this morning, and bought several things from the Chinese. While bargaining, my man M. Ally recognised an old acquaintance whom he knew at Taping. This man has a brother, an officer in the Pansee army, and expressed his desire to go with us for the purpose of joining him. Went to the puey, and found that in the Woon's absence the Tsiké had assumed the chief place, distinguishing himself by sitting on a red "nega-teing," flat cushion. While I was seated beside him, he thought it nothing derogatory to ask in the coolest manner for a *present*, should I accompany him to the Bodwin mines. He asked how many guns I had, and how many I would take with

me, and expressed his desire to have a good double-barrelled percussion. On being told that I might be able to spare one on my return, he merely grumbled with a smile and dropped the subject. His shameless beggary in presence of so many contrasted comically enough, but was not at all inconsistent with his rather proud and haughty manners. When the Woon honoured the puey with his presence, it was customary to give the officials a luncheon of sweetmeats and fruit, of which I always partook. On this occasion the Tsiké suggested tea and cakes, and my teapot and cakes from the Chinese restaurant gave us a substitute. To-day being the last of the puey, the verandah of the pavilion had more than its usual number of fair occupants, several of whom were good-looking and even pretty.

In the evening, the old Shan Thoogyee, who acts as interpreter to the Woon, came to my "tey" for medicine, and in return wrote down his version of many Kakhyeen words. The Nikandan also came as usual for his chat, and made no disguise in considering the Tsiké a pretentious fool.

15*th*.—This morning I returned to Bamò, the Suseenah puey being finished, and every one—officials, stall-keepers, country visitors, and actors—busy packing up and making ready for their homeward journeys. Indeed, many had packed up and embarked their goods last evening, the taxes having been collected and the closing of the bazaar ordered in the afternoon. On my return, I learned from Raj Singh (who transacts most of my business with the Woon) that he too had several conversations with this official, who strongly dissents from my going northward with the Tsiké. "The Tsiké

might be killed, and there would be plenty to supply his place; but if any mishap befell me, he could not tell what might be the consequence." He talked freely with Raj Singh about the idea of annexing the Shan states, but thought it impolitic. The young and inexperienced might entertain such a notion, but the Magwé, and he, and all the old men, were of a different opinion. The country was poor, and could not afford to risk a difference with China, which might follow from the attempt; and no one could foretell what might be the result of the present struggle in Yunan.

16*th.*—This morning had letters from home, and from Steele, D'Avera, and others at Mandalay. His Majesty has accepted my appointment as the Chief Commissioner's Agent at his Court.

After a long and confidential interview with the Nikandan, Raj Singh is again despatched to the Woon to lay before him my reasons for going with the Tsiké to Bodwin. The old man is still opposed, and if possible more resolute than ever. "The Shans and Kakhyeens," he said, "regard all Kalas alike, and know no difference between an Englishman and a Pansee." The King wants the silver mines worked as a matter of great importance, and if a Kala were found visiting them, the people would think the King in league with the Pansees, and would shut the workings altogether. If the mining scheme was upset, and an Englishman killed, all through the stupidity of the old man at Bamò, what would become of him? He had already said, "*It is not well* that the English officer should go;" and though he could not forbid it, he must still strongly say, "*It is not well.*" On being reminded of the Tsiké's invitation, he merely

said, "The Tsiké is a boy, and does not know where or among whom he is going."

In the evening Raj Singh was present when the Woon received the Tsaubwas of the Bodwin and Pongsee districts. Their coming at present is regarded as the King's luck, as the Woon had often called them in vain; and now they come just when the Tsiké is about to start for their country! The Woon told them of the Tsiké's mission and his Majesty's desire to have the mines worked, and how the King would reward them for their friendly assistance. They seemed well pleased, and promised all obedience to his Majesty's wishes. They had brought some of the ore with them, a specimen of which was sent to me. Wrote to Colonel Phayre and others at Mandalay.

17*th*.—Spent the greater part of the day in reconnoitring, through the agency of Raj Singh. Had visits of the Nikandan and Pansee agent, and found the latter still friendly, and willing to assist my projects to the utmost of his power. In the evening called on the Woon, and fought a long battle with arguments, compliments, asseverations of friendship, &c., from both sides, respecting my intended journey. He gave me the strongest reasons why I should not accompany the Tsiké, and on seeing his determination, I asked whether, if I made a sacrifice by abandoning this route, and put myself under his advice, he would suggest another and render me the necessary assistance? He felt pinched between my urging and his own special reasons against my going to Bodwin, and consented to my proceeding by the Luey-line route, or that followed by the ambassadors to China. He would send men to conduct me part of the way, and to inform the Kak-

hyeens that I was a friend, and had to be protected. On mentioning this to the Nikandan, who called at a later hour, he told me the Lucy-line route was an unfrequented one, and that probably the ambassadors were taken by it on purpose to show exaggerated difficulties. He (the Nikandan) strongly recommends the Taping route, which is the one followed by the Chinese merchants, and by any Burmese proceeding northwards to Momein. By this route the Pansee agent had come, and by this way also the Burmese messengers were sent who had to purchase articles for his Majesty.

18*th.*—Sent to the Woon to request that my route be the Taping one; with which request he agrees. Despatched Raj Singh to the Assam village to hire men to accompany me. He found them, though previously volunteering to go, all frightened under the idea that I had forced consent from the Woon, and was proceeding against his will. On his return I sent him to the Woon to request that he would be kind enough to give me the men he had promised, with the necessary pass or order for my starting on the 21st. The old man would not believe in my going. "What! does your master really intend to go? Surely this man wishes to die! What can be done?" Finally, he told Raj Singh that he would re-examine the royal order I had brought, and that he must come again in the morning.

19*th.*—Raj Singh comes from the Woon, saying that, on referring to the royal order, the Woon and other officials had decided to refer again to his Majesty before giving any sanction. The royal order mentions the guard-posts *above* Bamò, and that boats and men

must be furnished me. This, they say, does not refer to any *land* journey, and they dare not interpret it as a permission for me to go to the frontier. On hearing this I went at once to the Woon; found him civil, polite, and anxious to preserve friendly appearances, but firm in his refusal to give any assistance, consent, or sanction to my going beyond Taping. Subsequently, on putting my request in writing, he thought I was seeking to make a quarrel of the affair, and was afraid to give a written answer. On this, however, I insisted, unless he wished to consider the return of my note as an insult; and on the Nikandan representing to him the real reasons of my wishing a written reply—viz., as a document to justify my delaying at Bamò—he sent me the following in Burmese: "In reference to the English officer's request that an order be sent to the Kakhyeens dwelling in the mountains respecting his going to Nam-poung, the Woon, lieutenants, assistants, and secretaries say—the royal order will be taken."

I was thus compelled to give in for the present, and to consider whether I should wait, or at once return to the capital. I may be required there, thought I, and further time spent here may be in vain; but, on the other hand, the royal order may be given, and then I shall certainly be in the best possible position to solve the problem of a trade-route between Rangoon and China. Even if this order be not obtained, and I find it impossible to pierce into the Kakhyeen mountains, still important facts may be gleaned by my remaining here. A return would shut out further information, and may lose a really golden opportunity. The question I am trying to solve is of the first importance to our Eastern commerce, and patience and perseverance

must both aid the solution. On considering the various *pros* and *cons* I have decided to remain, especially as the Woon promises to get the royal command quickly.

20*th.*—Chiefly occupied in writing to Colonel Phayre, D'Avera, and others at Mandalay, and to friends at home.

21*st.*—Engaged as yesterday, and especially in preparing a petition to the King craving his permission to cross to the Chinese frontier. Explained the Woon's objections to my proceeding under the present order, and sought liberty to advance as I best could across the Kakhyeen country. Gave Raj Singh a memorandum of instructions should he succeed in obtaining a private audience with his Majesty. Spent the evening with the Nikandan.

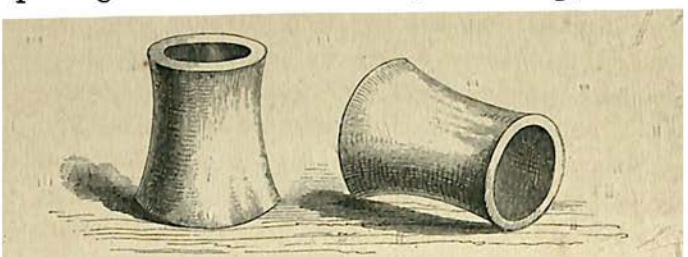
22*d.*—Having got the canoe in trim, Raj Singh, accompanied by D'Avera's two men, started for Mandalay, carrying with him letters and despatches, and especially the two petitions (the Woon's and mine) to his Majesty. In the interim I remain at Bamò, and must make the most of my situation.

MY LIFE AT BAMÒ.

VISIT THE ISLAND-VILLAGES IN THE NEIGHBOURHOOD—ATTEND A PUEY—OCCASIONS FOR THE DRAMATIC ENTERTAINMENTS—HOW THEY ARE GOT UP—A DEVOTEE'S DRAMA—I CONTRIBUTE AND ATTEND—HOW THE THEATRE IS ERECTED—GIVE A PUEY TO MY FRIENDS AND ACQUAINTANCES—SKETCH OF THE DRAMATIC CORPS—THE PRELUDE—THE PIECES—"KOLIYA THE UNGRATEFUL" AND "THE WONDERFUL SCALES"—OUTLINE OF THE PLOTS.

23*d March* 1863.—Hiring a boat, and taking with me M. Ally, Syee, Moung Mike, and Loogalay, I visited several of the island-villages, as well as some on the other side of the river, which, though now accessible by land, are surrounded by water during the rains. In the evening my opposite neighbour gave a puey, at which (as duly entitled by my having, according to Burmese fashion, contributed to its expenses) I looked on for an hour or two with the Nikandan from the little balcony in front of my verandah. These entertainments are so common—fashionable, I ought to have said—that it may be interesting to know how and on what occasions they are got up. For instance, there may be a marriage, sometimes (though rarely) a death, an offering to a pagoda or to a monastery, the consecration of a son to the priest-

hood or his initiation to the novitiate, or the ceremony of making a woman of a daughter, which consists in piercing her ears for the Burmese tube-ring; and on



Burmese Ear-tubes.

one or other of these occasions the puey is the unfailing accompaniment. This time it was an offering—the pious man having purchased two marble images of the revered Buddh and bestowed them on the monastery at the end of the street. The preservers of Buddhism know too well the value of the aid afforded them by the weaknesses of human nature if properly managed. Celebration of a worshipper's piety by gathering spectators to an entertainment is encouraged on every side. The sound of the gong generally precedes the simplest offering taken to a pagoda or a monastery; while those made to the invited priests at times of death and the like are witnessed by crowds of friends, whose "Well done!" "well done!" is encouraged by feasts both for body and mind—the long recitations of the Law by the Pongyees being followed by merry players, who combine music, dancing, tragedy, and farce into one ever-welcome spectacle.

The Moutshobo company of players being here at present, it would be a reproach were the devotee to miss the opportunity of employing them to swell the

merit of his devotion. They must, of course, be paid, and the friends who come to listen to the Law, as well as the actors, must be fed, and pickled tea, cheroots, and other luxuries provided for them. Besides this, the theatre-house has to be erected and lights provided. The donor of the images can by no means afford to pay for all this himself, but that makes no difference. The neighbours all contribute towards the expenses, and thereby enter into and share his merits. In addition to the friends at first assembled, a larger circle of acquaintances is invited by the neighbouring damsels, who are the bearers of little presents, the recipients of which also consider themselves invited to participate in the merit of sending contributions according to their means, varying, it may be, from a penny to a pound. Such a present was sent to me, consisting of rice, onions, garlic, sesamum seeds, pickled tea, &c.—a little of each in a separate cup, the whole in a covered "ook" or lacquered conical tray. The value of the whole was a mere trifle, but a day or two afterwards (seven days being the limit of etiquette) I sent the entertainer a rupee, and during the puey was rewarded by having presented to me a little tray with pickled tea and all its appropriate condiments in little glass cups—these adjuncts being oil, salt, roasted onion chips, and sesamum.

The crowd which assembled to witness the puey soon formed themselves instinctively into a gradually sloping circle of heads, the little children sitting round the edge of the ring for the actors, and behind them the bigger girls and boys, while the adults were outside of these and completed the happy and eager assemblage. I left them about ten o'clock, but the bursts of laughter and melody awoke me every now and then, and, when

permitting me to sleep, filled my dreams with the sights and sounds of the inimitable mixture of operatic song, tragedy, comedy, melodrama, and buffoonery, which, together with its appropriate orchestra and audience, make up the Burman puey.

24*th.*—The puey, which broke up about three this morning, was again renewed at nine, and proceeded with uninterrupted vigour to an eager and well-pleased audience till late in the afternoon, when, by mutual consent of actors and spectators, it was closed, though far from being finished. Company and audience part on the best of terms—the entertainer and his friends to cook and spread out the dinner for the actors, and the audience to go and cook their own.

I had almost forgotten the theatre, and the rapidity with which it was extemporised. The day before the first performance a number of bamboo posts were fixed in the ground, and others laid crosswise on the top of them. This was covered with thatch-leaves and boats' sails, and the house was finished! Inside, branches of green foliage were tied round one of the central posts, and the stump of a plantain set alongside, with a dish for the earth-oil light and a basket of cotton-seeds beside it. With these adjuncts the stage with all its apparatus and adjuncts was completed. The branch of green was a garden, a forest, or a country, just as it was wished to be, and the actors themselves replenished the blazing bowl with oil and seeds. There was an amount of mutual forbearance and assistance between audience and actors which was charming to a spectator who has been accustomed to stormy manifestations of discontent when anything is left to the imagination.

31*st*.—Nothing of note for the last few days, except that I have entertained the good people of Bamò with a two nights' puey. The idea occurred to me when returning from Suseenah, that I ought to do something to show my appreciation of the universal civility I received, and that the giving of a puey would be the most welcome and appropriate way. Nor was I left to think of this alone, for first one and then another said he had heard I was going to give a puey; and long before I had finally settled the matter, the bazaar told it as the latest news! I engaged the "Boongthamar" for two nights; the neighbours put up the theatre in front of my dwelling; supplies of cheroots, tea, plantains, &c., were laid in for the players and visitors; and on the 27th my ball was opened at 7 P.M. The officials sat with me in the little balcony; near neighbours and acquaintances on the verandah; and the grand assemblage round the players' ring in the middle of the road. I had slept out several pueys before, but I had never before sat one out; and a brief account of this may be taken as sample of the others:—

KOLIYA.—A BURMESE DRAMA.

The company consisted of sixteen artistes, all males; but two of them acted in girls' dress, as princesses, and did it remarkably well. The head man was the prince; he instructed the others, had the books of plays, and owned the drums and other furniture. The proceeds were divided equally among the company, but each was entitled to retain what gifts were presented to him; and these, in the case of a good actor, are neither few nor of little value. The prince or teacher showed me his play-book, which consisted of a simple memorandum of the course of each drama, but with the songs in full. The greater portion of the dialogue had to be learned by heart, but the rest was left to be improvised by the quick wit of the actor. The head man seemed to be much afraid of any of his com-

pany leaving, and told me he had to be very careful in not giving them offence. He was a clever-looking fellow, and, like most of his company, evidently an actor for love of the art. In Burmah, as in Europe, the players seem to have an attraction for the ladies, and this is currently regarded as part of their *Kootho* or good fortune for personal merit. In the company there were five really good actors who played with their whole selves, and not in that annoying half-and-half way that seems to lend a bit of themselves, and keeps the rest to despise the whole affair. Of the others several were below mediocrity; but even to these neither the good-humoured forbearance of their comrades nor of the spectators was in the least diminished.

The performance began with a song in chorus by the whole strength of the orchestra, the company sitting by their instruments, which consisted of cymbals, drums, and gongs. The cymbal-player filled well both the eye and ear, accompanying his instrument with a fine full voice, and having each verse as he finished repeated by the chorus. He was a lithe, active young fellow, and threw himself, in concert with the swells and falls of his song, into endless attitudes and somersaults, never ceasing the well-timed accompaniment of his discs. The rapidity and grace with which he played them over and under his shoulders, backwards and forwards through his thighs, and yet springing and dancing all the while, was worthy of the highest praise. The drummers danced in that tedious grotesque mockery of the grand style peculiar to the Burmese puey, and yet so successfully as now and again to bring down the applause of the audience. An unencumbered actor also appeared on the stage, to be chased by the nimble cymbals, and to flee from their clang with apparent terror. Now fleeing, now turning to stare with apparent wonder, or even to deride the feats of the cymbal-player, he would clumsily attempt to imitate or even out-do him by gesture and somersault, till, sticking in the middle with shoulders on ground and legs in mid-air, his failure would convulse the audience with laughter. Again the clang of the cymbals rang in his prostrate ears, and again he crawled in apparent terror, or rushed hither and thither in wild confusion, till suddenly recovering himself, he once more began to jeer and deride, and to make blundering imitations, which once more brought down roars of laughter from young and

old. After forty minutes or thereby of this preliminary noise and fun, the drums and cymbals ceased, and the real business of the drama began in earnest.

The scene is transferred, by the willing imagination of the audience, to the palace of a king, whose ministers are seen prostrate before him, his anger having been justly roused by the reported rapacity and cruelty of one of their number. The incensed monarch finds the delinquent guilty, and after a lofty admonition to the practice of justice and honesty, orders him to be dragged behind a big drum and committed to prison. The king is next persecuted by five Beloos or monsters, who demand five of the palace virgins to be devoured every day, and who threaten to ravage the whole country if their demand is not complied with. The monarch is in agony, and the whole court is in consternation. His majesty bewails the absence of his brave and favourite son, who is away receiving instruction from a learned doctor. The son is sent for, and on his return is ordered to fight the Beloos.

You must now imagine the branch tied to the post to represent a forest, in which reside the five monsters, with immense human bodies, huge heads with bloody cheeks, protruding bloodshot eyes, and mouths with awful teeth. The prince approaches them reciting his prayers, while they watch him from their place of concealment. The prince first says, "Sir Beloos, it is well to afford life and happiness to sentient beings—to take them away only increases the evil in the world." To which they reply, "Bah! no nonsense; give us the virgins, or say you will not." After some further parley the prince proposes to give himself up instead of the five virgins daily, and to this the monsters assent. They attack him, but on trying to eat him they can make no impression, and cry out that his body is hard as stone. The Beloos then believe the prince to be endowed with some supernatural power, and, desisting from their cannibal attempts, ask him what charm or talismanic sentence he possesses. He denies having any power beyond that afforded by the Buddhist's triple formula (*Aneitsa, Daka, Anatta*) and the five moral laws. These the monsters seek to be taught, and as the prince repeats them the great teeth and other characteristics of Belooship fall away and leave them simple men, who, recognising the prince as a future Buddh, go through a number of supplications, and then return to their own country.

The ministers, who have seen all this, are first surprised at the power displayed by the prince; but, on reflecting that it will eclipse their influence with the king, they go to his majesty and persuade him that his son, instead of annihilating the monsters, has only made a conspiracy with them to kill his father and obtain possession of the kingdom. They thus manage to procure sentence of banishment against him, and further, that he shall not be accompanied either by his wife or servants. The prince has to comply with this, but insists on his prerogative to release from death a condemned criminal, and so obtains the pardon of the disgraced minister Koliya, whom he takes along with him. The first place at which they stop is the abode of an old hermit and teacher, who is also the prince's father-in-law, and to whom the poor young man relates his misfortunes. The hermit confers upon Nandiga (the prince) five royal appurtenances, the wearer of which had the power of flying, walking unseen, diving under ground, and other similar feats. He advises him to go for his wife, upon which mission he at once sets out in company with his attendant Koliya. While on the way, the weather being dry and sultry, the prince goes into a tank to bathe, intrusting the charmed regalia to his attendant, with strict injunctions not to lay the precious articles on the ground, nor hand them to the keeping of any other. No sooner has the prince retired than the faithless Koliya puts the charms upon himself, and begins to revile the poor prince, who, under the influence of threats and blows from the now all-powerful minister, has sorrowfully and indignantly to accede to his demand that they should henceforth change names; and further, swears the most solemn oath that he will not divulge the matter, and will forego all pretensions to become a Buddh should he not fulfil his promise of secrecy.

In their new character the pair now proceed to the court of Rajatáni; and in another scene are represented as sleeping — the pretended prince on a stone table, and the real son of the king at his feet. The people about the court as they pass by cannot help remarking upon the superior appearance of the attendant to his master. They are next taken to be introduced to the king, who has no male heirs, and he compels his only daughter to promise that she will marry the false Koliya. All that she can ask from the king is that the ceremony of marriage may be delayed, and meantime

the princess shows that she has drawn invidious comparisons between the ill-favoured prince and the gentle youth who follows him. And further, seeing that the lad is greatly abused by his master, she manages to persuade the ministers to send him away to tend the herd of 500 goats. This is agreed to; and while the real prince is engaged in this rural occupation, he is accosted by his young wife with a child in her arms. She had left home immediately after the birth of their child, declaring that she would search for her husband till she had found him alive or dead. Her joy at the sight of her husband is scarcely tempered by the state in which she finds him—in rags, and a goatherd; but his cool denial that he really is Nandiga nearly drives her mad with doubt and consternation. Nandiga's grief at the part he has to perform is intense, but he strengthens himself with reflections on the eternity of the advantage of keeping his oath. His wife, distracted between her joy and her grief, goes to the palace and reports that the real prince is him they call Koliya, and that they have interchanged names. She declares who he is, and the king orders the ministers to search into the matter. Koliya stoutly denies the woman's assertion; the goatherd is sent for, and they question him in his wife's presence. He hesitates, and soliloquises on the consequences of either course he may pursue. His wife entreats him to tell the truth; she suspects he is bound by an oath, and urges his love for the child, his pity for her, and that if he declare the truth no ill can happen. The prince, however, is not thinking of his happiness in this life but of his future existence, and, looking up, declares to the ministers that he is Koliya! At this point of the story the wife is overwhelmed with grief, the ministers are angry, and Koliya is triumphant. The broken-hearted wife is now sent to prison, Nandiga back to his goats, and the nuptials of the king's daughter with the pretender are ordered to be celebrated without delay. Everything looks sad and gloomy for the good, and gay and brilliant for the wicked.

The audience have had their sympathy for distressed virtue well drawn out; many are in tears, and many of the youngsters are sobbing aloud. I confess to having been as much moved by the simple, bloodless tragedy, where the imagination supplied the scenes, and the untutored Burman actors much of the dialogue, as by similar dramas whose composition and representation were ruled by art and cultivated taste. But to

proceed: The gods can no longer endure the triumph of vice over virtue. Some enemies come down and attack the country, the ministers defend themselves, but the pretender is struck dead by a thunderbolt, and the goatherd is sent for, and shows by his recital of the Buddhist law who he really is. He is now the hero restored; his wife is sent for from prison; and Koliya being dead, Nandiga discloses the reason why he called himself Koliya, and why the wicked minister was allowed to use his name. His wife is now restored to him; and, in addition, the king's daughter is also given to him. They both accompany him to his own country, showing no jealousy of each other, but living peaceably and lovingly together. On his return the prince gives a magnificent entertainment to the priests and followers of the Law, and his father receives him with a hearty welcome. The wicked ministers are punished, and the child of the prince initiated into the yellow-robed assembly, the two sponsors taken to the golden palace, and the audience left to enjoy themselves.

Another of the dramas performed at my pŭey, and of which the following is an outline, was

The Wonderful Scales.

The king orders that his son should make a journey through the seven provinces of the empire, and administer the oath of allegiance to the inhabitants. The young prince is presented by the Nats with a very beautiful bride, who accompanies him on his tour. One day, after passing through six of the provinces, they agreed to rest for the night in a wood before entering the seventh. At this time two Beloos, brother and sister, were disputing about the division of three talismans that had been left them by their parents. These were: a pair of scales, which produced gold and silver to the person who weighed with them; a pair of charmed shoes, that enabled the wearer to go through earth, air, and water; and a staff, the touch of whose point caused death to the living, and the touch of whose handle resurrection to the dead. Each of the Beloos would have the scales; but to end the quarrel they agree to refer the matter to some wise man. They come upon the prince's party and tell the affair to the servant, who reports to the prince, and the Beloos are admitted. (The judgment is

given, after the disputants agree to abide by the prince's decision, and is a fine satire on the benefit of appeal to justice.) The prince enters into the weakness and inability of the woman Beloo, and awards her the shoes; the male, he says, is liable to many enemies, and therefore the staff will suit him; while the scales (the real point in dispute) he appropriates to himself as his fee! The Beloos, perforce, submit to the decree. By-and-by the prince sets out for the seventh province, and decides on leaving his bride in charge of the Beloos in the forest. She is terribly afraid; but the Beloos talk kindly, promise careful protection, and take an oath to fulfil their promise. The prince, on leaving, gives his bride a flower which will droop should any accident befall him; and should this happen, she is to follow him without delay.

Arrived at the capital, the prince hears a proclamation by the public crier of a great gambling challenge from the minister of the palace, and determines to try his luck. His follower dissuades him, and dwells on the danger of gambling among a strange people. The prince, however, trusts to his scales, and determines to try. He advances to the palace, and is told that the minister is unconquerable at the dice. He offers to play, and the minister accordingly asks him what he can stake. He says he will erect three golden posts should he lose; and the minister, astonished at his boldness, agrees to give him all the country, save the white umbrella and palace, should luck desert his side. The challenge being accepted, the prince in the meanwhile goes to the forest and tries the virtue of his scales. The minister, wondering whence arose the bold stake of the prince, spies out what they do. They sit down, take out their scales, and are almost wild with delight at the amount of gold that falls out at every shake. The minister resolves on having these wonderful scales, and employs a celebrated thief from Ava to steal them from the prince and his follower.

The discussion with the thief, his bold appearance and boasts, afford much room for farce. The prince and his servant are seen asleep in the forest—the scales being carefully guarded by the latter. The thief, after advancing with wonderfully defiant yet stealthy paces, is dreadfully frightened by a snore from one of the sleepers, and runs back to his abettors. Again and again he yields to the taunts and persuasions of the minister, and approaches the sleepers.

Twenty times, at least, he does this, till at last he gets so far as to touch the coveted prize, but a movement of the holder frightens him again, and he retreats with fresh terror. His backers are now angry with him and upbraid his cowardice, and for the twenty-first time, with another brave look, and crying that he is a "youkcha," he repeats the advance. After several attempts he gets the scales, but on his way back the servant wakens up dreamily, and the thief is in such a terror that he goes back with stealthy step and puts the scales down again. For this he is cuffed and tries again, and this time brings them to the minister; but at the moment he hears a noise from the sleepers, and struggling hard, gets the scales again into his hands to return them. The noise, however, ceases, and the scales are once more in the hands of the minister, who tries their power. The thief is all this time in an agony of terror lest he should be found out, and watches the sleepers with a look of fear most thoroughly ridiculous. On the servant awakening, the thief rushes to the group around the wonderful scales, and snatches them with a view to their return; but the new holders succeed in nudging his head between their legs, and retain the prize. This long monotony of repetition did not weary the audience; on the contrary, they only applauded each fresh start more and laughed the louder. The thief was certainly an admirable actor, and personified or rather burlesqued the "bravery" of his countrymen in a most felicitous manner.

The grief of the prince on finding his scales gone is most agonising, and, on playing with the minister, he loses, and, of course, has no longer the means of erecting the posts of solid gold. In default he and his servant are made slaves, and are delivered over as labourers to the gardener, with order that they be deprived of their dresses and clothed in rags. The execution of this order gives great scope for acting: anger, distress, remorse, shame, and heroic resolves to die rather than submit to such indignity are alternately exhibited, as slowly the prince is made to throw off his finery and put on the scantiest and dirtiest scraps of clothing. They have to beat him before he will change his fine silk for the rag of a "putso." His follower, on the other hand, feels the change less, and comforts his master with much wit and many sly jests. The two now work in the garden, go through the motions of carrying earth from place to place, and, having to

beg for their food, naturally do it at the corner of the stage under my balcony—a signal for a present to be given them.

Meanwhile the princess observes the flower drooping, remembers and repeats her husband's parting injunctions, and sets out accordingly in search of him. She arrives at the garden, sees the follower, and discovers the resemblance to her lord's attendant. The lad recognises the princess, and resolves to have a joke about the condition of his master. She asks him how in the world he came to be in such a state. He tells her that his master did not think him worthy of his service, had very much oppressed him, and had finally sold him as a slave; but as for the prince, "Oh, my mother! the gold earrings, the diamond necklaces, the silken dresses he wears! Oh mother, you have no idea how splendid he is!" The princess is delighted, and thinks this all well. The prince, meanwhile, is sleeping on the ground close by her with his head in a dirt-basket. He awakes at the talking and recognises the voice of his bride, but is so overcome with shame that he thrusts his head and shoulders into the basket. The lad at last points out the splendid prince he had described to the princess, who is horrified at the sight. The prince refuses to speak when she calls him, weeps in the basket, and at last confesses that he is so ashamed that his bride should see him. He begs her to go away and think no more of him: his lot is too ignoble for her to share; it would be like joining gold and earth together. She comforts him as a woman only can, and bids him cheer up, while she goes away to beg a meal for him and his attendant. This she procures, and again sets out resolved to gain their liberty.

With this view she approaches the palace. The great ministers are there in state; and, on the way through the imaginary courts, she is asked what she wants. "To try my luck at the dice," she says. The inquirer dissuades her, and warns her of the fate of the prince who the other day was made a garden coolie by the always-winning minister. She is not to be deterred, however, and tells her errand to the minister himself. She bets herself against the two slaves in the garden. The minister plays, and this time loses. She has the fine clothes restored to the prince and his attendant, and all three return to their own home in happiness.

There were no tears to-night, but lots of laughter; the chief points that drew down roars from the audience being the

cowardly braggadocio thief—the petulant conflict between the poor prince and the servants who made him change his royal finery for rags—and the behaviour of the same hero when discovered almost naked and miserable by his princess. The comic element prevailed to-night, and was enthusiastically appreciated by the audience.

*** For further illustrations of the Burmese Drama see Appendix B.

CHIEF PONGYEE OR HIGH PRIEST, BAMO. *page* 143.

(*From a Photograph.*)

MY LIFE AT BAMÒ.

(Continued.)

MY STREET AND NEIGHBOURS—THE NIKANDAN—HIS DOCTRINE OF KOOTHO—HIS THEOLOGICAL TENDENCIES—NIKANDAN'S WIFE AND SICK CHILD—THE COURT-HOUSE—CONSTITUTION OF THE COURT—APPEALS—VISIT FROM A KAKHYEEN CHIEF—EAR AND EYE DISEASES—MY INCREASING PRACTICE—THE KAKHYEEN CHIEF DRUNK AND DISORDERLY—THE KING'S MESSENGER DETAINED BY THE CHINESE—DEATH AND FUNERAL OF THE NIKANDAN'S CHILD—CEREMONY OF INITIATION INTO THE PRIESTHOOD—FUNERAL CUSTOMS—LAID UP WITH FEVER—THE DESCENT OF INDRA—RUMOURS OF TROUBLES AT MANDALAY.

1*st April* 1863.—It is now the beginning of April, and I have still to look forward to several weeks' solitude in this far-off and little known region. Luckily I have some books with me, have still much of the native dialects to master, and have a never-failing source of amusement in the ways and doings of my surrounding neighbours. My street is a short one, not exceeding a dozen houses. At the west end is a stone bridge over a nullah, and at the east end another bridge (over part of the same nullah), which leads to the large monastery of the chief Pongyee. My house is on the south side, and No. 5 counting from the west end. No. 1 is occupied by a quiet old woman; No. 2

by another old woman and family, who is always trotting about, sometimes laughing, sometimes scolding, often joking with another neighbour, and never without her long bamboo pipe with wooden bowl. It was this old lady who collected the cotton-seeds for my puey, and who volunteered to supply as many other pueys as I might choose to give. No. 3 contains two families; one of the men is sickly from long stooping at basket-making, and sits in his little verandah all day watching his children—one of them a plump little fellow two years old, ever playing about the naked breast of his mother, who reclines on the bamboo floor, and seems as happy, happier, indeed, than if she and the child were white and clad in finery. My house belongs to one of the Nikandans who is absent at the capital. It consists of a centre room, with a smaller room on either side. The centre room is open to the road, a small verandah intervening, and at the left of this a small balcony raised three feet above it and six feet above the road — the whole being under the shade of a "Thana" tree. There are no windows, the side rooms being lighted enough by the thousand rays that pierce the mat walls and bamboo trellis-floor. The front wall of the front room is slung from the rafters above, and is let down at night as a sign of the house being shut, for it is no defence or hindrance to any one who wishes to intrude. On my right is another Nikandan, whose house is similar to mine. He is an intelligent man, and is the working assistant to the Governor (Woon), though there are two officials above him in rank. He visits me daily, and we talk of all subjects common to both, stoutly contesting our differences.

Like most Burmans, he is forward to acknowledge our (the English) superiority in all worldly knowledge, the excellence of our customs, our plan of government, and the like; but all our success, this very excellence, is the result of our *Koothó* (merit) acquired in previous existences! Our grand want and fault is that we have not the spiritual knowledge of Buddhism. This system of philosophy and religion he, like other educated Burmese, can defend with remarkable astuteness. Fond of argument, his answers to my sceptical difficulties are signally clear and cogent, but, like those of many other theologians, they will not bear logical criticism, but cut one another while cutting at the opponent. Unlike theologians at home, however, never does the defender of Guadama's plan of salvation get out of temper, and never does he show the slightest hate or want of charity to the most self-confident and contemptuous denier of his creed. There is an unshakable engrained conviction that seems a part of his constitution, and, together with the cheerful contented temper of the Burmese character, defies any attempt to rouse his hostility, much less to disturb his religious faith.

On the Nikandan's return from the evening council at the Governor's he generally comes and joins me in tea and conversation. The facility with which an educated Burman expresses himself, and fluently strings long sentences together in one continuous sermon-like speech, is wonderful as it is tedious. It is always a pleasure, however, to hear a sensible man talk, and (granted the premises that his religious faith somehow introduces itself into every subject) my friend talks sensibly, if not eloquently. Last night he proved superior

to all the arguments I could urge or ridicule I could throw against his doctrine (Kooth6) of accounting for every position and change in men's lives, and only the more eagerly persuaded me to believe and come to the grace of Guadama's law. This reminded me that his Majesty the King once informed me that my Kooth6 (luck), was better than even our Queen's, because I had been brought to Burmah, and had the inestimable privilege of his teaching me the Buddhist law—an advantage not to be reckoned in this life, but whose fruits I should reap in countless lives to come! In illustration of Kooth6 the Nikandan asked, "What is it that makes Col. Phayre a great governor, and you his subordinate officer, though your industry and your learning be perhaps greater than his? It is Kooth6. It is Kooth6 that makes some kings, some governors, and some poor men. I have no better knowledge than my neighbours, I can do nothing with my hands to earn money, and yet in my house are gold and silver, and my wife and children have silk clothes to wear. I say to this man, Give me ten rupees, and he gives them; I say, Do this, and it is done. This is my Kooth6. The Woon is the only one here to whom I say 'Phra,' and his Kooth6 is better than mine." I asked him how about the Kooth6 of the Pagán Ming. "Oh, in some previous existence he resolved to make an offering or do some charity, and subsequently withdrew a part; promising 100 he asked acceptance of 75, and after all gave only 50!" was the ready solution of the fate of the fallen monarch.

To return to my neighbour. He has been a soldier, and commanded Beling in the last war with us; and his square jaws and forehead, and well-formed mouth,

give him a certain air of command and determination. He lived at Martaḅan before the war, and used to hold

Nikandan or Second Officer, Bamo.

intercourse with the missionaries and officials at Moulmain, disputing, he says, sometimes half the night with the former—eager audiences listening the while—and the missionaries being, of course, always out-reasoned! He has been with the old governor here, as well as with the present Woon. The times, he says, are bad now, but have less sin. "Formerly I used to get lots of money. I could demand money from the villagers, and could always get what I wanted from anybody who had to do with the Court. Now, however, the King has forbidden this; only yesterday the Woon read a royal order forbidding acceptance of money from any person. We must be content to be poor nowadays." His pay is only about 450 rupees a-year. He

is well-to-do, however, and I have no doubt will manage to keep so.

This Nikandan's wife is a good-tempered woman, who seems to practise the philosophy of Epictetus with regard to her husband's Turk-like tendencies. He has other wives, and families in the parts of Upper and Lower Burmah where he has lived, and his greater and more constant affection for this one does not prevent him from having lesser wives in Bamò. One of her children is sick, and the father, who knows, among his other acquirements, something of medicine, looks up various receipts, and drugs the poor little innocent towards its grave in spite of all I can do to dissuade him.

A little further on lives the Woon's son, who is one of the Tsikés. Opposite his house is the court-house, and behind it the governor's compound. The Yun or court-house is the official place of business of all kinds, judicial, political, &c. In practice, however, the judicial and all other business done by the officials beneath the Woon is here gone through, while the Woon's house is the place of appeal in case of suits, and the place where the more serious and important business is decided on. The Woon's lady is no mean advocate in appeals, and the manner of winning her favour is naturally enough well known to every one interested in it. An instance of this occurred one evening as the Nikandan was sitting in my house, by a woman who was party in a suit coming in to ask his advice. He very coolly advised the plaintiff to go to the lady, and, taking a present with her, say she was not satisfied with the decision of the Yun, but would take happiness or misery with gratitude from her decision; and I have no doubt the poor woman did.

The officials of the Yun are appointed by his Majesty at the same time as the Woon, and consist of two Tsikés, two Nikandans, and two Seredan-gyees or secretaries. These attend the Yun every day, and remain as long as there is business to be done. Every document from the Woon's office, which is in fact the Yun, is in the names of all these six officials, as well as that of the Woon. Without these signatures the document is invalid.

To-day the royal order arrived giving permission to the Kakhyeen Tsaubwas to proceed to Mandalay. The chief of the Loutan district was called by the Woon to receive the order, and thinking it a good opportunity, I sent the old Shan interpreter to invite his Tsaubwaship to my house. He came in the afternoon—a dirty, blear-eyed, rascally-looking little fellow, about fifty years of age, with his bamboo arrack-bottle sticking out of his bag, and himself smelling strongly of its contents. I gave him a mat to sit on, and tried to talk with him through the interpreter; but the latter could not be brought to listen to what I said, and much less interpret it to the Kakhyeen. The chief, however, could talk a little Burmese, and seemed to understand more. I spoke to him of merchants going across the Kakhyeen country, and of the benefits that would accrue to the villages on the way, and asked him if he would conduct me or them, and should I go with him to his village? To all my questions he appeared to answer sincerely and interestedly. He would try to get the merchants through his country, and if I would go with him he would give me welcome to his territory, which consisted of nearly five hundred houses. As to Mandalay, he feared the heat of the advanced season, and

would not go down the river this year. Before going, he nudged the interpreter to ask me for arrack and presents; and on receiving some of his favourite beverage he promised to give me another visit before he left Bamò.

2*d*.—To-day had a long excursion through the grass and burnt low jungle to the eastward, but got very little to bag, and saw few new plants in flower. Though light and sandy in many places, the extent of cultivable land in the neighbourhood is immense, and all susceptible of easy irrigation.

Had several ear and eye patients, the former being chiefly the fair sex, whose ear-lobes had got severed by accident, and were unfit to retain the ring, or rather *tube*, which is so universally worn in Burmah; and the latter of both sexes, cataract being one of the most frequent and distressing complaints in the country, and especially in the lower provinces.* The doctoring of the ears excites lively gratitude, and brings me many presents; but the restoring of the eyesight is a miracle, and my fame has gone before me from Mandalay even to the Kakhyeen hills! Looking at the low state of the healing art in Burmah, I have often thought over the influence which a few skilled medical missionaries could readily command.

3*d*.—Had a call, as promised, from the Loutan Tsaubwa and the old Shan interpreter. Both were under the influence of arrack, and especially the former.

* During Dr Williams's residence in Mandalay he had numerous patients afflicted with this and other diseases, and among them some of the chief officials and Pongyees. It was his success as a practitioner, indeed, that first attracted the attention of the King, and subsequently led to that friendly intimacy and influence which he has so long enjoyed at the Court of Burmah.

He wore the red flannel jacket and cotton kerchief turban which had been presented to him in the morning by order of the King. He referred to these, and asked what I was going to give him. I showed him a rupee, which he rejected with disdain. He drank some arrack, however, and soon quarrelled with the interpreter, whom he sent away with many Kakhyeen curses, repeating that he was a great chief—a very great chief—and that I too was a great chief,—confirming the saying by shikoing to me with both hands. I gave him a couple of yards of cloth, and he then got clamorous for the round piece I had offered him before. Two or three Shans who had come in remonstrated with him, and ultimately got him away. This chief is altogether a bad fellow, and has been several times in jail for misconduct grave enough to call for the interference of the Woon. The Shans with him belong to a village near the mountains to the east, and pay tribute to him for protection at the rate of a basket of rice per house. His own lands are gratuitously cultivated by his subjects, by whose aid he says he is willing and ready to make a merchant-route through his territory. He is scarcely the man to be trusted.

4th.—At home. During the day the Nikandan tells me that Koyingalay, the messenger sent to the Chinese territory to buy articles for his Majesty, is confined, with all his goods, by the Chinese. He was returning, having been well treated by the Pansees, to whom he took letters, and by whom he was conducted as far as their power extended. The Chinese, however, who are now, together with the Shans, resisting the Pansees in the Shan states, stopped him, and, by order of the officer commanding them, he and his luggage were put in cus-

tody. He was allowed, however, to send news of this by three of his men, who arrived this morning with his letter to the above effect. "What is to be done?" is the question on the *tapis*. In the evening the chief Chinese residents are called, and the officials talk about it, and get them to write *instanter* to their detaining countrymen.

5th.—The Nikandan tells me of the letter sent by the Woon to the Chinese official, the sum of which is, "that the man went for articles to be given as presents by his Majesty; and now, while the two countries are in alliance and friendship, such conduct is that of an enemy." Another letter sent by the Chinese, and likely to have more effect, was, "that in the event of anything happening to the messenger, they and their kinsmen at Bamò would be in considerable danger." The men who have returned are so much frightened that they cannot be induced to take the letters, and fresh men are accordingly sent.

In the afternoon three girls brought lacquer baskets full of cups of rice, onions, garlic, and a packet of pickled tea, and presenting the contents, announced that on the 8th a boy, Sing-pyo-mee, would be invested with the yellow robe, and become a novice of the Buddhist priesthood. The tea was wrapped in a piece of plantain-leaf, and one end of the fold was about a cubit long, which was a sign that something out of the common was expected as the helping offering, the length of the wrapper being made to correspond with the supposed position of the recipient.

6th.—At home all day. Took a list of Pwon words from an intelligent Shan who frequently pays me a visit. The more I learn the more I am convinced of

our ignorance of the hill-tribes which inhabit the highlands between the Brahmapootra and the Cambodia.

7th.—To-day the Nikandan's sick child died, and it would have been a marvel had he lived, considering the amount of drugging he received from his father and his father's advisers. No regular practitioner was called in, or at least none was paid to treat the child. The knowledge of the Burmese doctors is certainly not very great, but their position is worse than their skill, and I often upbraid them for their want of respect to themselves and their order.

8th.—This morning the initiated novice, Sing-pyo-mee, made his rounds. Dressed in the gayest attire, gold chain round his neck, and a fantastic tiara on his head, jingling with little bells, and brilliant in tinsel of gilt and coloured foil, he was borne on the shoulders of a man, in the midst of a long procession of well-dressed girls and women, boys and men, headed by a band of music. They go through the town, the novice thus taking a last farewell of the vanities of this world. This ceremony is undergone by most of the young Burmans, the novitiate not necessarily implying that the priesthood will be entered, but simply that the boy is now to enter the boarding-school of the monastery. The boy wears the yellow robe like the priests, attends upon them, and is taught and boarded at the monastery without further charge to the parent than his piety may lead him to make in the form of offerings to the church.

The lamentation of the Nikandan for his perished child is loud and unrestrained. The coffin is being constructed and gilt, and the bier is made of bamboos, and ornamented with red cotton cloth. In the fore-

noon the body is borne away, a few poles strung with putsoes, muslins, and kerchiefs being carried behind, each pole by two men. In a similar way are carried three or four sets of presents to the priests who will officiate on the occasion. The mother and a crowd of women follow, and at some little distance the father, his immediate friends, and a number of male followers. The Woon, too, preceded by gongs and flanked by halberdiers and musketeers, rides at the head of a third procession composed of his escort and attendants. I joined the Nikandan, and walked with him to the burying-ground. The immediate mourners went with the bier to the grave, while I and the Woon and others retired to the zayats built close by. Three pongyees stood by the grave, and recited a portion of Scripture, the hearers folding their hands in the attitude of prayer, while two or three women distributed cheroots, tea, fruits, &c., among them. Others brought similar refreshments to those in the zayats. The prayers over, the pongyees left, their attendant boys carrying the presents that had been provided for them. The grave now received its victim, the poor mother weeping and lamenting at its brink, while the father and others filled it up. This done, the weeping mourners tore themselves from the scene, the crowd returning to their homes and their respective occupations.

The putsoes, muslins, and kerchiefs which were displayed in the procession are taken by any one who chooses, and in this instance they were snatched from the bamboos by the young fellows, who seemed to await the occasion. Every day for seven days the pongyees will preach at the house of the deceased. The expenses attending a Burmese funeral are much

like those at home — very often unnecessary, and foolishly extravagant. Here, however, neighbours help by offerings of any of the articles generally used or given away at funerals. The day of the death, presents of plantain, tea, cheroots, muslin, &c., were continually reaching the house, and any time within the seven religiously prescribed days such gifts are received as decent and friendly contributions.

9th to 12th.—For the last three days I have been laid up with fever, and to-day feel yet too weak to set out for the Upper Defile. Since the 8th the Nikaudan's house has been a perfect kitchen for cooking victuals for the priests and the listeners to the "Law," who assemble early each morning,—the congregation repeating in full chorus their long reverence to the pongyees, who then take up the recitation. These exercises over, the priests return to their monastery to eat the feast set for them, while the congregation set to and discuss the dishes which all the preceding night have been warming and cooking. The whole thing, services, feast, and all, is usually over by eight o'clock.

This morning about half-past eight the big gun at the Governor's house boomed, and every one cried out, "Thagya ming kya byee," or, "Indra has descended." More guns and muskets followed, and the neighbours brought to their doors pots of water whose mouths were full of fresh leafy branches, and poured the water on the ground. The men who had muskets then brought them out, and a scattered fire was heard all over the town. The little boys now appeared with syringes, cups, and whatever vessels they can get hold of, and throw water over any girl that may appear on the streets. I am told that this evening a party of

young girls will come and drench me, and that I can only get off by paying a fine to them in lieu of the gratification. This they do to the Burman officials, who for the most part submit to the ducking.

In describing my street I ought not to omit the nightly chorus of the girls on the other side of the nullah, who keep themselves awake at their work of husking rice by a pretty refrain. They are preparing for the pongyees during the ensuing Lent, and all the damsels get "merit" in husking it. The work goes on sometimes to twelve o'clock, and is the most pleasant lullaby I have been put to sleep by for many a long year.

Yesterday the Nikandan told me as a great secret of the flight of the Thonsé Prince, and of apparently approaching troubles down the country. His news, if true, do not bode well for the peace of the capital.

TO THE UPPER DEFILE AND BACK.

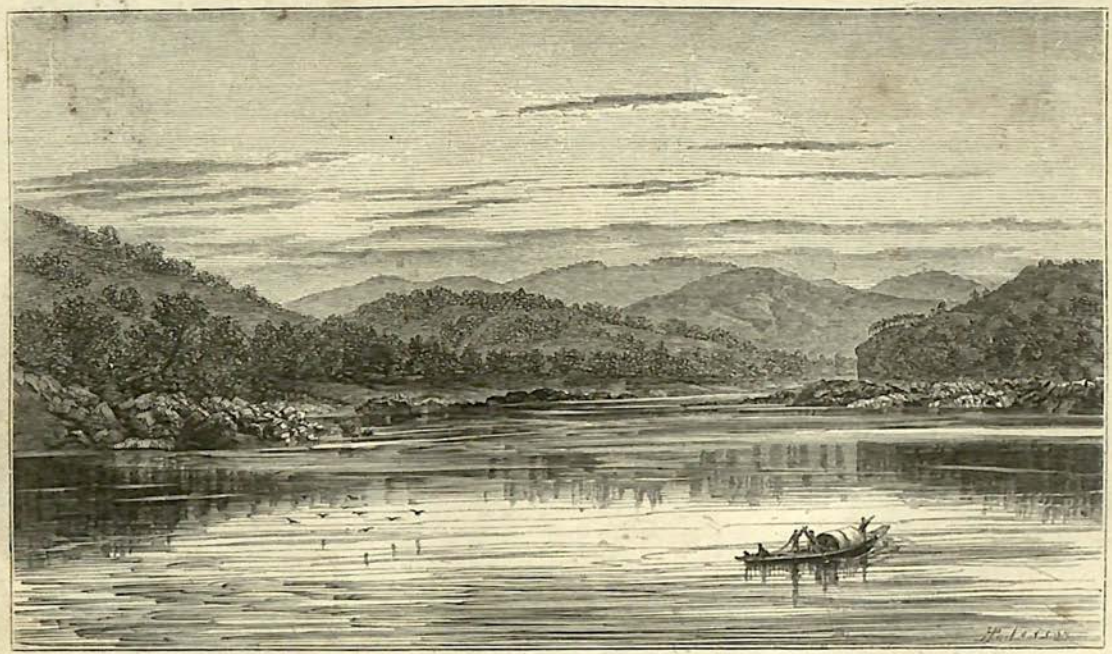
SHOALS AND SAND-ISLANDS NEAR BAMÒ—MAIN STREAM NAVIGABLE —PLAINS TO THE WEST—THE UPPER DEFILE, ITS ROCKS AND RAPIDS—MEET WITH A PARTY OF KAKHYEENS—TSHENBO-MYO —OVERTAKEN BY RAJ SINGH—NEWS FROM MANDALAY—HIS MAJESTY'S ORDERS TO RETURN—THE IRAWADDI BEYOND TSHENBO —DOWN THE RAPIDS TO BAMÒ—THE NIKANDAN AND THE PANIC AT MANDALAY—VISIT FROM THE CHIEF CHINAMAN—THE TRADE-ROUTES AND TRAFFIC—NEWS FROM A SHAN MERCHANT—RAJ SINGH AND THE CHINESE—THE WOON'S ADIEU—EMBARK FOR MANDALAY.

13*th April* 1863.—Feeling much better to-day, I set out with Syee, Poza, and Minatally for the Upper Defile, the Woon having graciously furnished a trim flat-bottomed boat for the occasion. Being late in starting, the greater part of the day was spent among the shoals and sand-islands which encumber the river between Bamò and the mouth of the Taping. Though shifting during floods, these shoals are evidently on the increase, the current in this broad expanse being very slow, and the amount of debris brought down from the hills by the upper tributaries being enormous. There is sufficient fairway, however, both on the Bamò side and between the main islands, for boats of heavy burden; and a river-steamer of proper construction would have

no difficulty in making her way to the Taping, and for many miles beyond. Passed the mouth of the Taping, whose deep, clear flood was perceptible for several hundred yards among the more turbid waters of the Irawaddi. Pulled up for the night at the upper island, which has several houses, though for the most part covered with grass and forest jungle.

14*th*.—Crossed this morning to the right bank, which is low—the bordering plain extending for many miles westward to the limestone mountains. Here the country seems rich alluvial land, well watered, and capable of any amount of cultivation. Returning to the main stream, the current now began to strengthen, and our men had a stiff pull from side to side till we reached, in the afternoon, Lebaing King, at which point the shores suddenly contract, and the first rocks of the defile make their appearance. From Lebaing to Seeting the course of the river is almost due north, with a gradually narrowing channel, the rocks on the right bank jutting here and there through the water, which comes down with a current of four or five miles an hour. Drew up at Seeting bend for the night, to prepare for the rapids which now lay before us.

15*th and* 16*th*.—From Seeting to Lekmat, or for more than eight miles, the hills come steeply down on both sides to the river, contracting the channel to one or two hundred yards, and at some spots to less than half that width, and throwing their rocky points of limestone, flinty slate, and serpentine into the river in a very threatening manner. At one point, indeed, the whole Irawaddi is literally poured through a gorge fifty or sixty yards in width, and the labour and danger of getting a boat round the jutting rock, even at the time



FIRST OR UPPER DEFILE OF THE IRAWADDI. *page* 159.

(*From a Photograph.*)

of the slackest current, is extreme. Throughout the whole length of the defile the toil was incessant, and the attention was ever on the stretch to avoid the rocks and ridges that rise up on either side and often far into the channel. The most dangerous of these rocks rise on the right bank. The "Elephant and Ox" immediately above the rocky islet of Keymowa, the "Podu" a little farther up, and the "Poshno" at the extreme end of the defile. The scenery throughout was noble, but was lost to us in consequence of the toil and the excitement arising from a sense of danger. From Lekmat to Tshenbó the river gradually widens out, till, on approaching the latter, it is nearly a mile in width, and is again encumbered with shoals and sand-islands. Tshenbó, on the right bank, is a place of considerable importance, doubly stockaded, and doing a considerable trade with the Shan tribes to the westward.

While halting in the defile to take a view of the scenery, we met with a party of Kakhyeens down on a trading mission, and found them civil, but rather suspicious and inquisitive. The men and women wore the same kind of waist-cloth. One of the head women had a black jacket with a red band round the arm, and white piping edging the hand and sleeve. The jacket reached to the waist, and was fastened so as to show the bust and figure. The waist-cloth was kept up by bands of ratan like hoops, in the case of the women, but the men wore a cord with tassels. Many, however, wore Shan pants, black or white; and Shan jackets are by no means uncommon, though most of the women stick to their national patso. Most of them wear a head-cloth of black cotton, with the ends hanging down

jauntily on the one side. The whole dress both of men and women is highly picturesque—the black and red contrasting finely with the green jungle among which they pass so much of their time.

17*th.*—While at Tshenbó, and preparing for a further run to Taló, Raj Singh arrived bearing despatches from Mandalay. In consequence of the flight of the Thonsé Prince, and the attendant troubles at Mandalay, the King demands my immediate return, but promises to give me leave to go anywhere as soon as quiet is restored. On Raj Singh's urging my desire to proceed to the Kakhyeen country, his Majesty's reply was, "No, no; go and tell Williams I will give him permission to go anywhere next time, but now I want him here immediately. There is business, and he must come down." From this, and all I can learn through R. S., as well as from letters received from Camaratta and others, matters at the capital are by no means in pleasant state; and so, without further delay, we took leave of the Tshenbó Thoogyee, and turned our boat once more down the stream. While at Tshenbó, however, I learned that the navigation of the river improves, and is easy for flat-bottomed boats to Taló. Between Tshenbó and Taló the Irawaddi receives the Magoung from the west, and at Taló the Tarup-myit from the east, both of which are navigable for some distance for small boats—the latter, indeed, being an old established route for cotton, serpentine, jade, and other articles to China. Opposite Taló is the village of Koungpoo, from which the land route strikes westward to the serpentine and amber mines that lie near the sources of the Magoung and Khyendwen.

18*th and* 19*th.*—Our course down the defile was as

rapid as it was slow and toilsome in the ascent. It was no easy matter, however, in steering between the innumerable Scyllas and Charybdises that beset the channel; and the sensation of being shot down the rapid, seething and boiling at great depths, is one that, once experienced, I can answer for it, can never be forgotten. The easy and indeed possible navigation of the Irawaddi seems to terminate at Lebaing—all above, though passable for light boats, being unfit for heavy traffic. Keeping our course without halting, we reached Bamò early on the morning of the 19th, and at once proceeded to put things in order for our downward voyage to the capital.

In the afternoon had a visit from the Nikandan, who tells me that no news have yet arrived of Koyingalay, the King's messenger; that the Chinese here had written to their countrymen of my intended journey, warning them to look out; and that it was in consequence of these letters that Koyingalay had been intercepted. This looks like nonsense, and yet the feeling between the Chinese and Pansees is so extreme that there is no telling how either may act. Raj Singh, who has been gossiping about the Yun, tells me the same tale, but says a letter has been received by the Woon, consenting to release Koyingalay on condition that he will not permit the Pansees and Kalas (that is, our party) who are now in Bamò to proceed beyond it.

In the evening I sent for the chief Chinaman, and had a long conversation with him about the trade-routes, telling him that my real object and the wish of English merchants was to establish a traffic through Burmah to China; and that speaking to him on this

matter was the same as speaking to all his countrymen in Bamò. He admitted the force of all I said, but shook his head doubtfully as to doing anything "while the routes were in the hands of the Chinese to-day and in those of the Pansees to-morrow." I tried to arouse him to show some interest and energy in the matter by getting his countrymen to make an appeal to the Burmese powers; but he merely shrank the more from the business, saying, "We are simple merchants, and must not meddle with the affairs of countries. What is the business of government-men and officials we dare not talk about." He would be glad, however, were the routes again opened, and frankly admitted that the main obstacle was the unsettled state of China. The Kakhyeens were, no doubt, *difficulties* in the way, but not *obstacles*, as their goodwill could always be secured by paying toll in passing through their districts. "Were peace established in Yunan, and Burmah willing," were his words, "there is nothing to prevent a large trade between the countries, by horses, mules, and hand-burdens, as it had been in former days."

On further conversation with him I found that the Chinese would take piece-goods (woollen, cotton, velvet, &c.) of British manufacture, as well as steel, salt, and cotton, and could give in return silk, tea, copper, gold, and silver. Tea, he said, did not grow well in Yunan, nor did it produce much silk; but Sechuen produced both, and that grown for the Emperor's use was from the latter province. Pour, a city to the south-east of Tali, sent most of the tea used in Yunan. Gold was rather scarce, but silver was abundant. There were no salt-mines, but coal could be, and was, largely raised at Momira.

So far as he knew or had learned, there was no level route to Yunan, and none by which the Kakhyeens could be avoided. These mountaineers were incorrigible; and though the Chinese had slaughtered whole villages of them, it was of no use, as houses again sprang up, and the new dwellers were even worse than the former. Those on the Burman side, he admitted, were less troublesome than those on the Chinese frontier; but not till both countries were of one mind could the nuisance be put down. There were *four* routes known to the Chinese merchants, which were open during the dry season, but impassable during the rains. These were:—

1. The Talé route by the Tarup-myit, and used by those coming from China for serpentine.

2. The Bamò route by the Taping, and used mostly by those bringing from China silk, copper, silver, opium, Thamney fur, chinaware, and paper, and taking in return salt, cotton, rice, and piece-goods.

3. The Sawuddy route, used chiefly by Shans who come for salt, salt fish, and cotton, and bring opium, copper, fruits, rugs, and a coarse paper.

4. The Shweylee route, partly by the river and partly land, and used almost wholly by the Shans, who traffic in the preceding articles.

20*th*.—Nikandan with me nearly the whole day. Sent things on board and prepared for the downward voyage. Had a visit from a Shan who has been much among the Kakhyeens. He says the Shweylee is navigable for light boats as far as Maingmo, and that there is a land-route along its course, over plains and through valleys without crossing the mountains. He has been three or four times over the route, and says

the river is not encumbered with large stones, and that there are only small ones which do not hinder the navigation. He gave the land-route from Maingmo to the mouth of the Shweylee as three days and four nights for men with shoulder-burdens. While talking, he was called away by some of the Woon's people; and half an hour afterwards, in passing my house, told me that the Woon had ordered him four blows with the elbow, for coming to me and indulging in conversation. I gave him a little silver, to get, as he said, "some opium to soothe his feelings, as it was hard to get beaten and nothing by way of recompense." The Nikandan, the rascal, has been at the bottom of this, by listening at the thin bamboo walls which separate our dwellings!

Tried to get a photograph of some Kakhyeens, among them the son of the Loutan Tsaubwa, who looks only a younger rascal than his father. I wanted him to put on a sword when being taken, but he objected, saying that if he once put it on he could not, according to the custom of the Kakhyeen chiefs, return it.

Made a parting visit to the Woon and his lady. Before leaving, he asked me to report well of him to the King. He spoke of his bridge and works of merit, the prosperity of his rule in contrast with that of his predecessors, the punctual execution of the royal orders, &c., leaving nothing unturned, indeed, that could be said in his favour. I quietly reminded him of the obstructions he had thrown in the way of my getting northward; but he deftly turned the matter aside by a fluent harangue (such a harangue as only a Burman could deliver) on the duty of officials to the

Government, and on the care he, as a Woon, was bound to take of a stranger, the friend of his Majesty! I thought it my duty to tell him in very plain language the relations in which the English now stood both to the Chinese and Burmese, and of the influence our country exercised in the East; and this not only for his information, but with a view to forward the objects of any future expedition that might be attempted from Bamô to Yunan. His professions of friendship were thoroughly Burmese—that is, profuse in the extreme, and professedly affectionate.

Kakhyeen Chief and Family.

Raj Singh has been all day among the Chinese, and returns with an elaborate list of the articles trafficked in, and the prices current at Bamô. These are, silk of several qualities; tea in discs and packages; copper in discs and pots; opium and *pyoungkee* (the residue of the opium after being smoked by the wealthier

classes); gold in bullion and leaf; carpets, feltings, and rugs; musk; strike-fires (steel-edged, with a leather purse for flint); straw hats; cotton fabrics; Thamney jackets, &c. [The nature and prices of these being already given at page 34, need not be repeated.] He further learned from the second Chinaman that Sechuen was rich in silk and tea; Yunan in minerals, copper, silver, gold, arsenic; and Pour, fifteen days from Tali, and fifteen days from Yunan, celebrated for teas of special quality.

On Raj Singh rallying the Chinese about their not coming to me, and hesitating to give me commercial information, they said they were simply merchants, and had no officials among them in Burmah, and not even at Momein, which was now in the hands of the Pansees. They could enter into nothing but buying and selling, so as to procure for themselves a scanty livelihood. On his further asking whether the Woon had forbidden them to hold intercourse with me, they said they were merely dealers, and when in Burmese territory the authorities were like their fathers and mothers, and *they could not say whether they had been told so or not!* It was only lately they had heard of the English, and they never had had any dealings with them either at Bamò or Mandalay. The truth is, they are not to be drawn; though I gravely suspect both the Woon and the *friendly* Nikandan for much of the reticence that throughout has characterised the conduct of the poor Chinese.

Having had no visit from the Nikandan in the evening (being ashamed, I suppose, of the part he played in procuring a beating for the poor Shan), I sent him an invitation, and he came in at a late hour. We

talked of my departure from Bamò and the frustration of my project; and in a long and confidential conversation he discussed the merit of the various trade-routes to Yunan, admitting, from his own knowledge and the reports of the Chinese, that the route from Koungtoung and Sawuddy was that generally preferred by the native traders. The reasons for this preference were the less formidable character of the mountains to be crossed, and the shorter distance to be traversed through the Kakhyeen country. The encouragement hitherto given by the Burman Government to the Bamò route arose purely from political motives, and in the present unsettled state of its relations to the Pansees, it was impossible to think of any other. He talked disparagingly of the Shweylee route—the upper course of that river not running in a valley, but down through precipitous gorges, there being no passes through the mountains in that district, and the Kakhyeens being wild and numerous along the way. He admitted, however, that a considerable trade was carried on in that quarter by the Shans, and that the forests in that region were among the best for hard, straight timber in Upper Burmah.

RETURN TO MANDALAY.

FAREWELL TO BAMÒ—PASS THE MONKEY CASTLE—FOGS AND JUNGLE-FIRES—SHWEYGOO AND NEIGHBOURHOOD—ENTER THE SHWEYLEE RIVER—ITS NAVIGATION—CAUGHT IN A SQUALL—REVISIT TAGOUNG AND OLD PAGAN—PASS MALÉ CUSTOM POST—THROUGH THE LOWER DEFILE—ITS SCENERY—PICTURESQUE VILLAGES AND PAGODAS—SHOALS AND SANDBANKS - ARRIVE AT MADÉ CREEK—ENTER MANDALAY—MY RECEPTION AT COURT—PLOTS AND DIFFICULTIES.

21*st April* 1863.—Everything being now on board, I sent Raj Singh with some perfumes as a parting gift to the Woon's lady, and bade adieu to my immediate neighbours. The Nikandan accompanied me to the river, and a number of others, whose friendly acquaintance I had made, waved their "farewell" as we moved out to the main stream of the Irawaddi. It was now near mid-day, and as we threaded the island-channels, mapping and correcting our upward observations, a thick fog set in towards afternoon, which compelled us to draw ashore and put up at Touktay for the night.

22*d*.—During the earlier part of the day the sky was somewhat clearer, but as we approached the Monkey Castle in the middle defile, the fog and smoke set in so densely, that though we heard our old friends clamour-

ing and chattering among the cliffs we could not see them. There are two kinds of monkeys inhabiting these cliffs,—the black, with white face, which do not show any confidence in man—and the red-faced, begging monkeys, which are quite familiar. As we passed their stronghold the latter were loud in their demonstrations, but we did not stop to hold intercourse—the thickness of the fog and smoke from jungle-fires which hung over the defile being such as to render necessary the greatest watchfulness and care. No one who has not witnessed the smoke from jungle-fires could credit the extent and density of the stratum, which, in certain conditions of the atmosphere, will hang over the country for days.

About five in the afternoon we arrived at Shweygoomyo, which I formerly noticed as a place of some importance, with many monasteries, and about half as large as Bamò. Jack-trees are abundant in the neighbourhood, and the district to the westward is particularly rich in paddy—indeed one of the richest in Upper Burmah. The people told me that the Kakhyeens did not attack their town, because they were prepared and could defend themselves; but that occasionally people were carried off from the jungle, and the consequence was that few went far into the country without being armed. There were a few Kakhyeens among the hills to the north-west on the opposite side of the river, but there were many to the eastward, their nearest villages being about ten miles E.S.E. of Shweygoo.

Started again, after a short rest at Shweygoo, and reached Shweybuntha, a village on the left bank, where the increasing murkiness compelled us to halt and lay to for the night.

23*d*.—Left Shweybuntha early in the morning, and found the river now widening immensely, and studded on either side with large islands, most of them covered with forest and grass jungle. Water-birds were numerous on the shoals and banks, and we spent much of our time in trying to secure some red-legged, black-billed cranes. Mapped the river and islands, and after sunset reached the thriving village of Kathá.

24*th*.—Mapped shoals and islands, and a few miles below Kathá found the banks undermined by the current, and consisting of soft sandstone and red ochry clay. Reached the mouth of the Shweylee in the afternoon, and rowed up several miles to the village of Negwen in the small boat. As far as we went the river was about two hundred yards wide, and a little wider near the village, but encumbered with shoals and sandbanks. The water was ten or twelve feet from the top of the banks—the right covered with dense, luxuriant forest-growth, and the left with tall elephant-grass. Both banks are under water during the floods, and this was the reason assigned why we saw no houses nor inhabitants. The steersman had been up the Shweylee by the land-route, and the people at the village agreed with him in describing its course as exceedingly tortuous, and its channel broad and shallow, with numerous sandbanks. Between three and four days by boat from its mouth the river divides into two branches—the greater going by Momeit to the Shan country, and the lesser to Mogouk. There are many villages on the way, and the country is represented as rich in paddy, in teak, bamboo, and cotton. The great drawback to the navigation of the Shweylee seems to be its shoals and sandbanks, but

during floods there must be considerable depth of water, admitting boats of heavy burden, and giving facilities to timber rafts from the inland forests, which are among the finest in Burmah. Returning to the Irawaddi we made for the island of Ingwá, and lay to for the night under the bank of the village of Makin.

25*th.*—Start at six o'clock and thread our way, making observations, through the shoals and islands. When near Tongné in the afternoon we were caught in a squall, and had to take shelter for several hours in a creek. These squalls, which precede rain-storms, are much dreaded by the boatmen on the Irawaddi, and on any sudden lowering of the sky they make for the nearest bank and creep along under its shelter. The storm having passed away, we passed Tongné and made for Tagoung. On landing I found the Thoogyee absent at the capital, but his wife told me that he had had no time to search for old inscriptions. The man who formerly went with us to old Pagan came on board, but could give no new information beyond his having traced the south wall and discovered some stone posts, but whether bearing inscriptions or not he could not tell.

26*th.*—Having little time to spare, I went early on shore and through the jungle that now covers the sites of Tagoung and old Pagan. Everywhere mounds appear, and here and there a line of bricks marks the site of some ancient pagoda or monastery. The place is full of interest, but the extent of ground which had been built upon and enclosed would take months of research and excavation.

Returning to the river, we had capital sport on our way down (ducks, cranes, ibes, and other water-birds),

and reached the custom-post of Malé about seven in the evening. Being past office hours, we were detained for some time in getting our passes inspected, but at length got free, and dropped down to a little bight where we slept for the night. The Irawaddi at this stage is a noble stream, about a mile in width, and flowing with a deep, steady current from two to three miles an hour.

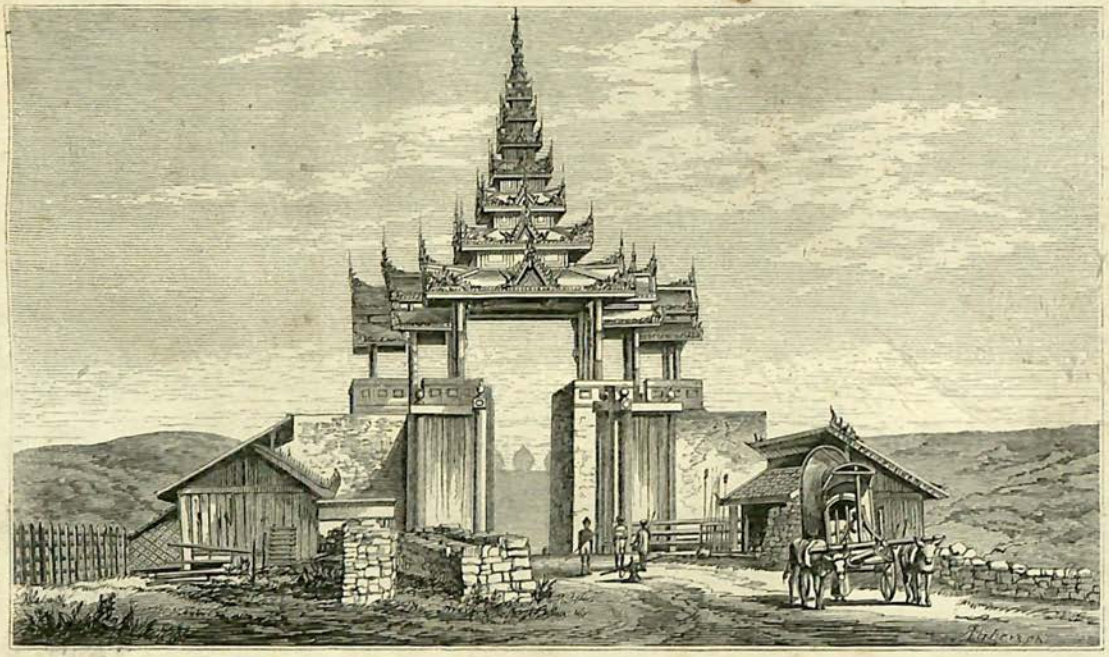
27*th*.—To-day we passed through the Kyoukdwen or Lower Defile as far as Yeydan, where we arrived about nine in the evening. The weather being favourable, we had a fine opportunity (rapid as our descent was) of witnessing the pretty scenery which marks this section of the Irawaddi on both banks. Wooded hills dipping rapidly to the river, with here and there a few houses or pagodas peeping through the foliage, rocky bluffs and points throwing their dark shadows on the deep clear current between, and numerous craft toilsomely tacking upwards or shooting downwards with the stream—all united in giving a light and life to the defile which would have enticed us to linger in spite of the current, had it not been for the order that called us to the capital. Though on the whole straight, the defile is not as usually described, but presents heads and creeks and irregularities that add still more to the picturesqueness of its scenery.

28*th*.—Started this morning at half-past five, and soon passed the pretty site of Singoo, below which the river again expands, and becomes a perfect archipelago of shoals and islands. At Kething, a solitary rock of hard conglomerate stands out to guard the pass; and this dividing the waters in two, they flow downward through the archipelago, now on this side, now on that

now shallow and rapid, and now in deeper and stiller channels, till they reach the deep and narrow reach of Ava. We held by the right bank, the villages of Yuathit, Koygee, &c., forming one continuous curve of pagodas and cottages, prettily intermingled with the trees which fringe this side the river. Indeed, many of the positions of the pagodas were absolutely beautiful, their high, airy, multiple roofs giving effect to the rich green foliage of the trees, and to the irregular outlines of the heights which rose beyond. A little below this we crossed over to the east side, and passed between an archipelago of islands, which, with the low bank, must be flooded during freshes, though now dry and studded with hamlets. For ten miles or so we kept by the east bank, and then crossed over to the west, and stopped for the night near Mengoon.

29th.—Made an early start this morning, and reached Mandalay or the Madé Creek about half-past six. The creek, crowded as usual with rafts of timber and bamboo, and with craft of all kinds, had to be threaded with patience, and it was well on in the forenoon before we landed and got our luggage ashore. Leaving Raj Singh in charge, I entered the city gate about noon, and went straight to my own residence—thus terminating my essay to establish the practicability of a trade-route between the head-waters of the Irawaddi and those of the Yang-tse-kiang.

So far as the subject in hand is concerned, Dr Williams's Journal need not be further followed. His return was cordially welcomed by the King, who has



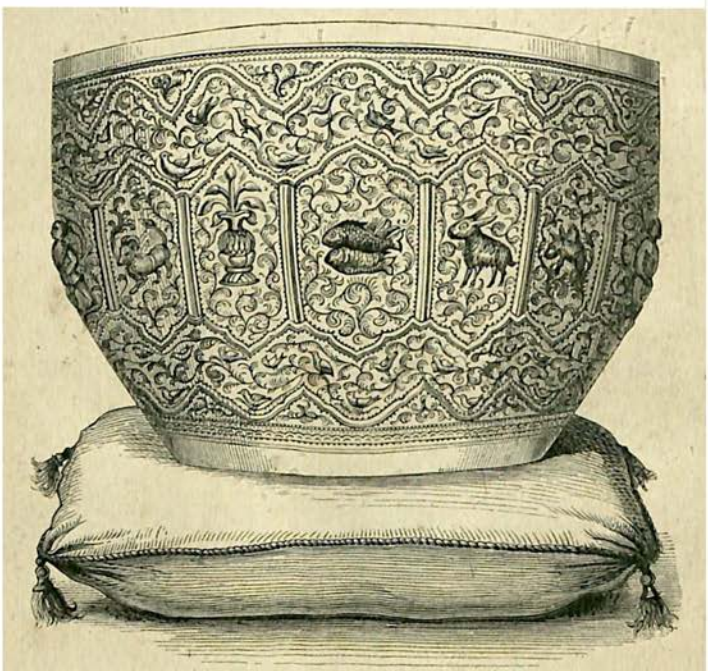
CITY GATE, MANDALAY. *page* 174.

(*From a Photograph.*)

ever taken a lively interest in the renewal of the trade between Burmah and China, which has been all but extinguished since the commencement of the Pansee war, and which (now that the Pansee authority seems to be firmly established) only requires encouragement and protection to place it on a much more extensive and lucrative scale. His Majesty is too enlightened and far-seeing not to perceive the advantages that would accrue to his country, not only by the re-establishment of the native traffic, but by making the Irawaddi a free channel for European commerce with Western China, and hence the countenance he gave, and still gives, to the project. Besides the interest shown in the matter by the Burmese, the European residents also hailed Dr Williams's information with satisfaction, and steps would have been taken for the further exploration of the route but for the internal disturbances which at that time arose at Mandalay. These, combined with the subsequent cessation of Dr Williams's functions as Political Agent, and his temporary return to England,* put an end, so far as he was concerned, to the personal prosecution of the project; but the practicability of the route had been proved, and he did not leave the Irawaddi without receiving substantial proofs of the estimation in which his services were held by the court of Burmah. Besides enjoying the uninterrupted friendship of the King, and receiving offer of a high post if he chose to enter the Burman service, he was presented by his Majesty with

* After a brief stay in England Dr Williams returned in a private capacity to Burmah, where, as already mentioned, he continues to maintain a position of influence alike at the Burman court and among the European residents.

a valuable gold cup of native manufacture, and had conferred on him a Burmese Order of the highest rank, in acknowledgment at once of his many gratuitous services as a physician, his assistance in bringing about an equitable treaty between British and Upper Burmah, and his continued endeavours to develop the resources of the country.



BURMESE GOLD CUP.

(*Presented by the King of Burmah to Dr Williams in* 1864.)

III.

VINDICATION OF DR WILLIAMS'S PROPOSAL OF A SIMPLE TRADE-ROUTE VIA BAMÒ TO WESTERN CHINA

VINDICATION OF A SIMPLE TRADE-ROUTE.

RANGOON, 27*th April* 1867.

To the Secretary of the Chief Commissioner of British Burmah, and Agent to the Governor-General.

SIR,—I have the honour to request you will be good enough to submit to the Chief Commissioner the accompanying paper, which is a reprint of a Report published by permission of Government in the 'Asiatic Society's Journal' of October 1864.*

The reasons which have led me to bring this subject again before the authorities are the following:—

2. The opinion which has directed the recent steps taken by our Government in reference to communication with China, through this country, does not appear to have been formed from a consideration of all the facts of the case. The chief inspirers, indeed, of this opinion, have been gentlemen who have had no personal opportunity of correcting their *a priori* opinions by personal observation. While these gentlemen have done much good by rousing public attention, their zeal has perhaps done almost as much harm by direct-

* The Report here referred to is the Memorandum on the different Trade-routes to China *vid* Burmah, which forms the first part of the present volume.

ing it away from the broad grounds on which the consideration of the question at issue should rest to a comparatively unprofitable problem, the consideration of which is at present premature. The question, "*Which is the best way to open trade with Western China?*" has been passed over, and the question that now attracts the attention of the public and the action of Government is, "*Whether a railway from Rangoon to Esmok is practicable or not?*"

3. The mistake appears to have arisen from taking too narrow a view of the subject. Omitting from consideration those general geographical facts which suggest themselves as preliminary data to inquirers for *trade with China*, the projectors started from the postulate that a railway is the one thing needed, and the only possible medium of trade. A railway route from Rangoon to Esmok was thereupon laid down *in England*, and the whole question reduced itself to "*Can that railway be constructed?*"

4. So thoroughly, indeed, has this idea taken possession of some recent writers, that broader views taken by others have been quite misunderstood by them. Less definite and brilliant propositions than that for a railway from Rangoon to Esmok have been treated with more than poetic licence, and documents issuing to the public with all the prestige of State papers have pronounced such propositions to be "*impossible*," and "*wild, and utterly impracticable.*" Thus, in an "official document" (my Memorandum already referred to), on which a recent Blue-Book was confessedly partly based, it was written, "*A railway is not necessary to even a vast commerce by the Bamò route;*" and yet, in spite of the avowal being in distinct italics, it is so misunder-

stood that a plan of railway is chosen for the author of the document, its line of route is laid down by a green line in the Blue-Book map; it is then discussed as the route advocated by the unconscious writer, and finally declared impracticable!

In the Blue-Book referred to occur the following paragraphs:—

"It is upon their (Captain Watson's and Mr O'Reilly's) consequent reports and Dr Williams's memorandum, as they bear upon the possibility and desirability of a railway to the west of China by the one or other of their advocated routes, that I will now proceed to submit my observations as a Public Works' Officer of ten years' service in British Burmah. . . .

"The third route entails the much longer river navigation of about 675 miles from Rangoon to Mandalay, the Burmese capital, with a railway thence, also wholly in Burmah Proper, to Bamò, 160 miles direct north of Mandalay, to be continued north-easterly 220 miles further across the Black Mountain range to the Chinese city of Talifoo in the north-west of Yunan—in all, a distance of 675 miles by river and 380 by rail, making a total of 1055 miles. . . . The third route, that from Rangoon by river to Mandalay, the Burmese capital, and thence by railway *vid* Bamò to Talifoo in the north-west of Yunan, has received the support of, and been earnestly advocated by, Dr Williams, the late agent at Mandalay of the Chief Commissioner of British Burmah. Dr Williams, Assistant-Surgeon of her Majesty's 68th Regiment, first came to Burmah in 1858, and was subsequently appointed by the Chief Commissioner as his Agent at Mandalay. In that position Dr Williams appears to have been actuated by a

strong desire to set aside both the direct land route from Rangoon to China, and the river and land route from Magwè, and to supplant them with a much longer and more difficult one *vid* Bamò."

The Memorandum above referred to is the paper I now have the honour to forward. I need hardly say that I have no claim whatever to that plan of a railway from Mandalay to Bamò which is attributed to me.* I do not complain of this, or of any of the other instances in which quite mistaken views of my plans have been given to the public through the medium of these "Returns to an Address of the Honourable the House of Commons." These, as well as the mistakes in reference to the geography of the countries referred to, are readily explained by the circumstances under which these reports were compiled. But incorrect representations of really sober views, however inadvertently made, are very apt, when issued with such marks of authority, to retard the desired result, and to cause a considerable waste of time and money in unprofitable directions.

5. The physical practicability or otherwise of the railway from Rangoon to Esmok I cannot regard as more than a minor consideration in reference to the real question at issue at its *present stage*. Indeed, in order to clear the subject from what is now irrelevant dis-

* So far from advocating a railway route by Bamò, or even hinting at such, the reader will have seen that there is not a word about this mode of transit either in the Memorandum or Journal of our author. What he suggests, and what he ascended the Irawaddi for, was to test the practicability of a simple trade-route *vid* Bamò to Western China—this trade to be opened up and carried on, in the first instance, by means of caravans (pack-horses, pack-bullocks, and shoulder-burdens), as it had been in olden times, and then, when established, to find passage for it by whatever means the nature of the country would best permit.

cussion, it may be better to take it for granted that a railway from Rangoon to the proposed emporium on this side of the Salween is quite practicable, and a survey of the route will undoubtedly be exceedingly beneficial.

While public attention, however, and perhaps Government action, are now being confined in one direction, the actual facts remain the same. What I would venture to hope, therefore, is, that the Chief Commissioner will use his influence to again direct the attention of Government to these broad considerations, for it is on these that the real question at issue rests. These will, I am confident, guide both Government assistance and private enterprise to that practical solution which both Government and the mercantile community desire.

6. I have assumed, as the starting-point, that it is desirable to have communication between the Indian seas and Western China, and to connect our Indian telegraphs with our trading ports on the eastern coast of that country. The western portion of the vast Chinese empire is only approachable now by reaching the eastern coast through the Malacca Straits and the dangerous China seas, and then travelling back westward some 2000 miles by land or river. Burmah (British and Independent) separates this western part of China from our home sea, the Bay of Bengal. Our object, then, is to reach China from the Burman coast in the safest and cheapest way. In seeking to accomplish this object, the general facts we have to deal with are these:—

7. The southern prolongations of the Himalayas appear to be much more formidable in the southern

parts of Indo-China than in the north. The distribution of the races is quite sufficient to prove this. The ruling races, we may be quite sure, occupy the most fertile lands, the plains. Now the Burmese and the Chinese are the ruling races northward, the Burman Taliens and the Siamese southward.

Where these races approach near to one another, there we shall find the narrowest separation of mountain tracts. A glance at the map, or the slightest knowledge of the countries, will show that the tracts separating these races may be represented by two pyramids placed point to point, the narrow point of junction being near Bamò. Our knowledge of the physical features of this part of Asia exactly confirms this indication. The broadest and highest ranges are coincident with the greatest separation of the better civilised races.

8. Opposite Bamò the Shweylee, the Salween, and the Cambodia run in valleys peopled by commercial communities, and are bridged by *iron suspension bridges*. Lower down these rivers run in ravines, and cannot be followed either by boat or footpath, and it is hopeless to think of bridging them.

9. Another geographical fact guiding us in our investigation is, that two great rivers, both rising at the eastern end of the Himalayas, run, the one southward into the Bay of Bengal, and the other eastward into the Chinese Ocean. The former, or Irawaddi, forms the great artery of Burmah; the latter, or Yangtse, the great artery of China. The most dense and the most active population of either empire is found along the banks of these two great streams.

10. The mouths of these rivers are about 4000 miles apart; but the highest navigable point of the Ira-

waddi, and the most south-westerly bend of the Yang-tse, approach each other to within about 500 miles.

11. Between these two points lies the Chinese province of Yunan, rich in metals, silk, tea, and other products, and supporting about ten millions of inhabitants. Directly in the line, also between the two nearing points of the great rivers, lies a trade-route that has been used from time immemorial. From Bamò to Tali and Yunan city, caravans of porters, ponies, mules, and donkeys have been accustomed to travel for ages, carrying Burman serpentine and cotton to China, and bringing back Chinese gold, silk, copper, arsenic, mercury, and tea to Burmah.

12. The province of Yunan has been for eight years disturbed by a Mussulman rebellion, which has resulted in the establishment of a Mussulman kingdom, now eight years old. These disorders led to cessation of the old commercial intercourse; for this was always carried on by Chinese traders, not Burmans.

13. Between Bamò and the frontier is a range of hills about thirty-five miles across, inhabited by tribes of savage Singphos (Kakhyeens), who have many old grudges against the Chinese as well as Burmese. Since the disorders in Yunan and the decay of Burman power, these Singphos have refused to allow caravans through their passes, and, in fact, put a stop to such feeble attempts to revive the old trade as the Chinese are now able to make.

14. Such being the main facts which have appeared to me to bear on the subject, what I venture to recommend is a gradual development of the trade by the easiest and best-known routes.

I have ventured to suggest, that where we have a

navigable river which takes us to within fifty miles of the Chinese border, and which there puts us at once on a land trade-route that has been used for ages, we should not direct all our energies, nor spend all our time and money, in looking for a railway line through 800 miles of mountainous country in order to reach an unknown region of whose commercial condition we are totally ignorant, but that we should rather take advantage of those facilities nature has already provided, and avail ourselves of the teachings given us by the history of a previous extensive commerce between China and Burmah.

15. I have expressed my sincere belief, that with caution and address we can step in as neutral parties and re-open the old trade; that by steam traffic on the Irawaddi, and by pushing our trade at Bamò itself, and by-and-by beyond it, we may ultimately make it very palpably advisable to increase the facilities of transit. It would be premature to speak of any definite project, and at present I would not go further than respectfully recommend that the narrow tract between Bamò and the Chinese border, and as far beyond as is practicable, be inspected and surveyed; that regular steam traffic up to Bamò be established; that encouragement and aid be given to the natives to improve their present roads; that, as we get better acquainted with them, and our purely commercial objects become understood, we ourselves choose the best line for the purpose, and make a good road; that as the trade increases we make this into a tramway, and ultimately, *if found financially safe and advisable to do so*, make a railway from near Bamò as far into Western China as we can.

16. This plan is not a brilliant one. No Interplanetary Finance Company would attempt to collect the moneys of the shareholding community by "floating" so commonplace a scheme. But I think I may justly deprecate such plans being authoritatively stigmatised in Imperial Blue-Books as "*wild, and utterly impracticable,*" and "*impossible,*" and "*indeed, difficult to understand.*" It will be observed that I lay claim to no discovery. I have come to a certain conclusion after consideration of well-known facts, and after closer personal acquaintance with the peoples and places concerned than has fallen to the lot of any other European. My faith in the soundness of my conclusions has led me to return to this country in order to further their practical result as a private individual, when the routine of the service no longer allowed me to do so in an official capacity.

17. I am well aware that, however much I have at heart the object I have so long pursued, it cannot be accomplished by private exertions. But I am thoroughly convinced that if Government would extend its shelter, and afford some aid to the enterprise of our merchants and traders, the anticipations I have indulged in would be very speedily accomplished. Several of our merchants who believe in the soundness of the views herein stated are willing to encounter trials and difficulties, and undergo some losses at first, if there is the actual presence and protection of Government on the spot to give them reasonable expectations of continued security, while they develop a regular trade.

18. The combined political action of Government and private enterprise of merchants are doubtless

necessary; and at the commencement great good or ill effects would result, according as either class of action is directed with tact and a due consideration of circumstances. It is, however, with the greatest faith that I look forward to the arrangements the Chief Commissioner will be pleased to make in order to insure a successful result.

Trusting that he will not deem this letter or its enclosure out of place or time,

I have the honour to be,

Sir,

Your most obedient and humble servant,

CLEMENT WILLIAMS.

APPENDIX

APPENDIX A.

The following extracts from the public journals will show the interest that has recently been taken in the suggestion of a trade-route through Burmah to Western China, as well as the opinion entertained of the culpable remissness of the British Government in a matter of such vital importance to our commerce in the eastern hemisphere. It will be observed that even the earliest of these notices is long subsequent to the appearance of Dr Williams's Memorandum on the subject to the Indian Government, which is dated Mandalay, April 1864 :—

A New Route to China.

(*Correspondent of 'Shipping Gazette,' Dec.* 1867.)

It is not a little remarkable that, amid all the interest which has lately been awakened about endeavouring to find a new route to China through Burmah, the enterprising efforts of our countryman, Dr Clement Williams, should not be more generally known. Dr Clement Williams was Assistant-Surgeon in her Majesty's 68th Regiment, and during a furlough in 1860 visited Mandalay, and having gained the confidence of the King of Burmah, was permitted to have the most friendly intercourse with his Majesty ; and though Dr Williams would not himself claim any credit on the subject, yet we believe he was mainly instrumental in securing the establishment of a treaty between the Burmese and the British Government. Not long after this he was appointed to the new post of Agent to the Chief Commissioner of British Burmah (Colonel Phayre) at Mandalay, in Upper Burmah. Shortly after his appointment his attention was directed to the great desirability and numerous advantages which would accrue could the old trade-route to China by the

Irawaddi be made available to British commerce. After being some time at Mandalay, he succeeded in obtaining from the King permission to investigate, for the British Government, this route to China; and one of the results of the friendly treaty established in the end of 1862 was his gaining permission from the King to penetrate beyond Mandalay, which the Burmese authorities had hitherto most successfully opposed. Dr Williams, after many minute inquiries and much personal investigation into the political state and physical geography of the district, arrived at the conclusion that China can be reached from India *viâ* Burmah, and that the way to do so which would involve the smallest outlay of money, and be fraught with the least difficulty and danger, was by steamer navigation up the river Irawaddi to Bamò, and from thence by a land-route to Yunan. In order to test the practicability of this plan, and ascertain whether the Irawaddi was navigable for steamer traffic as far up as Bamò, he was, in 1863, kindly provided by the King with a large boat, in which he went up the river as far as Bamò, and took a survey which would serve as a guide to intending navigators, noting down carefully all the obstacles—narrows, rocks, &c.—in the way of safety to steam traffic. He was thus the first who had both advocated and tested that the Irawaddi is navigable up to Bamò, and could, therefore, be used in the route to China. One of the difficulties he refers to in this route is that beyond Bamò. A tract of country of from thirty to forty miles would have to be traversed which is infested by wild tribes, who levy black-mail on all on whom they can lay their hands. This obstacle is not, in his opinion, insurmountable to commercial enterprise. The principal of these tribes are the Kakhyeens and the Pansees, and, from conversations which he had with the chiefs of both, he is convinced that they could be transformed from enemies into friends by the payment of trifling subsidies, or the establishment of some system of tolls; and that a cart-road across this thirty or forty miles of Kakhyeen hills to the plains of Yunan can be constructed, and could be ultimately replaced by a tram or railway. Dr Williams thinks, also, that a telegraph may be established from Shanghai to Yunan city, and would pass, in all likelihood, through the great artery, Yang-tse-kiang. The possibility of a railway, he adds, is for the present as chimerical as is that of one through any other unsurveyed region. The railway, however, is not necessary to even a vast commerce by the Bamò route. River-steamers and flats can navigate the Irawaddi up to Bamò.

There is no alternative of the Taping river or a perfectly flat road from Bamò to the foot of the Kakhyeen hills. Up to this point the route is through our own and the friendly Burmese territory, the latter open to us by right of treaty. Three or four days' mountain-route, frequented from time immemorial by thousands of ponies, mules, and asses which have carried westward silk, tea, copper, gold, &c., and eastward cotton, salt, &c., reach Sanda or some other Shan frontier city, whence again the route is taken up by the civilisation of China, and carried north-east, east, and south-east through that large and populous empire.

Route to Western China.

(*From the 'Times,' January* 7, 1868.)

Further papers were laid before Parliament last month relating to the survey for a railway or road from Rangoon to the Chinese frontier. The Governor-General of India in Council having represented to the Secretary of State for India the great cost of such a railway, and the danger of the prosecution of the project leading to a collision with Burmah, Sir S. Northcote has, "though not without reluctance," come to the conclusion that it would be prudent to suspend the survey for the present. Another project, however, has found favour with the authorities, and in consequence of representations made by Colonel Fytche, Chief Commissioner of British Burmah, a sum of 23,500 rupees has been appropriated for the expenses of a party deputed to explore and re-open the caravan route, *viâ* Bamò on the Irawaddi, passing from that town in a north-easterly direction over the Kakhyeen hills, and through a narrow belt of Shan states, to Talifoo, the present capital of Western Yunan. The large trade which formerly took this route, estimated in 1855 at half a million sterling, was interrupted by the progress of the Mohammedan insurrection in Yunan; but now the Panthays are well established apparently, and the chiefs upon the route are anxious for the re-establishment of trade. Such obstacles as now exist, mainly political, would not, it is believed, be found difficult of solution by the interposition of the British Government. The project need not interfere with the proposed railway from Rangoon to China, avoiding the long valley from Rangoon to Bamò,

if that costly scheme should become practicable. But Colonel Fytche has a reason for urging the prompt re-opening of the Bamò route. The French are disposed to compete with us for the trade with Western China, and may be beforehand of us. An influential French mission was despatched from Saigon more than a year ago to proceed along the course of the Cambodia. This party, which maintains considerable dignity in its style, consists of five officers, with a European staff of 25 persons and a guard of 100 Annamite soldiers. As they have spent twelve months in the leisurely ascent of the Cambodia to Kiang-Hung, it is supposed that they have been busy politically among the semi-independent chiefs on the bank. It was believed that from Kiang-Hung they had turned to the north-west, or possibly due west, intending to strike the Irawaddi at Bamò. It was considered important that our party should show themselves speedily at Kiang-Hung. In 1837 Captain (now Major-General) Macleod was deputed to Kiang-Hung from Moulmein to endeavour to induce the Chinese traders from that great *entrepôt* to come onward through the Zimmay Shan states to Moulmein. The difficulties of this land-route were too great for the success of the enterprise. Much more likely of execution, however, is the French attempt to bring the China trade down the Cambodia. The native states on the lower portion of that river are partly tributary to China and partly to Cochin-China, but as Kiang-Hung is reached they are nominally under Burmah. The French could quickly assume under their protection the lower chiefs, but the point they must have in view is to enter into communication with the Shan state of Kiang-Hung. This reaches eastward to China proper, and through it runs the main route of Chinese traffic westward to the Takaw ferry, and into the true Burman Shan states. The position of the town of Kiang-Hung itself, in fact, is such that it commands the line of trade from the westward to China proper, and to the southern portion of Yunan. A great deal depends on the capabilities of the Cambodia river for navigation. It is believed that there are rapids in its course, which may require transhipment of goods in the upper portion of its course between Saigon and Kiang-Hung; but against such obstacles on that route we have to compare the long land-journey from Kiang-Hung to the Irawaddi. The traffic on the lower portion of the Cambodia river is understood to have been considerable in the earlier times, but it has almost ceased since the destruction of Wint-Chian or Chandapoori, in the beginning of the century, by the Siamese.

The Bamò route has been used for centuries as a line of traffic, only ceasing (as already stated) within these few years. That the line should have retained its vitality so long among all the disturbing influences of the flow and ebb of the Chinese and Burmese power, is a proof of the urgent necessity for the interchange of commodities between the respective countries, and is also a strong indication that, somehow or other, the line possesses some practical advantages over other through routes. It is supposed that the real difficulty of our party would be in the passage of the hills between Bamò and the Shan towns, a distance of about 35 miles. The only Europeans who of late years have visited Bamò—viz., Dr Williams in 1863, and Bishop Bigandet in 1865—were persuaded of the feasibility of the journey, and were both ready to attempt it. Since the project was started, Colonel Fytche has been at the Burmese court. The co-operation of the King would be required.

The Road into Western China.

(*From the 'Saturday Review,' April* 11, 1868.)

We should have thought that the expediency of opening a road from our possessions in India or Burmah into Western China was one of those things which are too plain for dispute. The Imperial stake in the matter is enormous, and the opportunity apparently tempting. The end to be gained is a total diversion of the trade with China from Shanghai and other Chinese ports to some port in our own territory. What that trade is, and what it must become, leave no doubt that the transit through British territory would be immensely profitable to the revenues of the provinces concerned. Still more, the substitution of Rangoon, or some port in the Bay of Bengal, for the Chinese ports, would shorten by nearly one-third the voyages of our tea-ships, diminishing *pro tanto* the expense of freight and other charges. It is a final and decisive consideration that the part of the voyage to be saved—namely, in the Chinese seas—would be most dangerous for our ships in the event of a maritime war. The navigation is so intricate and difficult that vessels can only make their way by sighting certain points. They must often lie-to at nightfall so as to thread their way safely the following day. Such conditions make the escape of merchantmen from

steam privateers impossible, steam having also rendered impracticable the old system of convoys. Were Rangoon, however, the port of our tea-ships, they could easily be protected out to the open sea, whence to the English Channel they might sail unmolested, not forced to pass over a certain route and near certain points where cruisers might be lying in wait. While the gain is to be so great, the conditions of making the road by which the gain would be effected are really very easy. At the base of the Siamese peninsula the Indian and Chinese frontiers are all but conterminous. The valley of the Dihong, the largest branch of the Brahmaputra, which is in our possession, is separated by a few miles only from the valley of the Yang-tse-kiang, the largest river of China. The country has not been thoroughly explored, but the Dihong is navigable to within two hundred miles distance from a point to which the Yang-tse-kiang is also navigable. It is known with some certainty, besides, that the western frontier of China is accessible through the valleys of the peninsular rivers — especially the Irawaddi and the Cambodia—whose head-waters are in the narrow tract intervening between Assam and China. In other words, China may be reached from British Burmah on the western face of the peninsula, embracing as it does the mouths of the Irawaddi; and from the French possessions at Saigon, at the mouth of the Cambodia, on the peninsula's eastern side. The Irawaddi river is navigable to Mandalay, 670 miles from the sea, and even to Bamò, 160 miles higher up, from which latter point it is only 220 miles to Talifoo, an important city in the Chinese province of Yunan, which in past times has carried on a valuable trade with Bamò. Again, it is known that the Chinese have traded largely with another city on their frontier—Kiang-Hung; situated on the Cambodia river, exactly in the latitude of Mandalay, and distant from Rangoon, in a straight line, 480 miles. One would have thought, then, that the chance of getting into China in any of these directions, especially of winning a road into the Yang-tse-kiang valley, was worth testing to the utmost; that, if there were difficulties in the way, those who had the direction of affairs would seek to remove them; that great risks even would be run in the hope of a brilliant result. At least one would have thought this, had the Government been any other than that of England in the middle of the nineteenth century. As it is, it is quite natural that high officials, instead of manfully doing their work, should shut their eyes to every chance, should magnify in imagination the lions in the path, should

weary out the hearts of their subordinates with perverse higgling in spending a few hundred pounds, and put off as long as possible what they plainly think the evil day of opening up the desired communication.

Our remarks have been suggested by the treatment which Captain Sprye's project, of which everybody has heard, has met with during the last year. It is likely enough that that project —to make a direct railway from Rangoon to the town of Kiang-Hung, already described, or some other point in Western China, making no use whatever of the Irawaddi—is not the most expedient. The necessary length of the line is an objection, if a road be practicable between Bamò and Talifoo, or if Western China can be penetrated by Bamò, or some place higher up from the Brahmaputra valley. But the saving of transhipments, except at the seaport, is a great advantage, and there is some reason to believe that Kiang-Hung may be a more advantageous gate into China than Talifoo. The project, at any rate, was surely worth a preliminary survey. For years, however, the Indian Government and the India Office here would not be bored with the matter. Objection was taken to spending money out of Indian revenues, and intense alarm was expressed lest the making of a railway should lead to difficulties with the Burmese Government and the entire occupation of their country. The answers to these objections were obvious enough. There was no pretext for saying that Indian revenues should not bear the expense, for British Burmah, which contributes to Indian revenue, is to reap, *ex hypothesi*, no little benefit from the project. At any rate, if the objection only applied to charging the Indian revenues, why did the India Office deal with it finally, and not bring the matter before the Imperial Cabinet, which can have few subjects more worthy of attention? The fear of a collision with Burmah is again little better than childish. In point of fact, the Burmese monarch seems willing enough to authorise exploring parties and railways; but is the prospect of advantage so chimerical that the risk of having to occupy more Burman territory, however little, must outweigh everything else? Thus years went on; merchants in the China trade, projectors like Captain Sprye, and the subordinate officials in British Burmah being repulsed time and again, or fretted by explorations in wrong directions, as if expressly devised to make out a case against any road. At length, in 1866, the fortune of party warfare introduced Lord Cranborne to the India Office, for once a statesman of strong will, and not a

mere official; a man who could afford to disregard the protests of his own Council, and the groans of the Indian Government at being made to do what it did not like. For a short time some progress was made. It was in September 1866 that Lord Cranborne looked into the matter, at the instance of the Liverpool East India and China Association, and he came at once to the conclusion that a survey should be made, unless some new circumstances had arisen since 1864, when the matter had been last under consideration. Thus pressed, the Indian Government renewed on the 8th of December all their old objections, but Lord Cranborne was inexorable, and a peremptory order for the survey was issued on the 7th of February last year. Unfortunately, the power of mischief possessed by officialism was not exhausted. The survey was begun as ordered, but when the season was over, and arrangements for continuing it another year had to be made, the Secretary of State for India was no longer Lord Cranborne, but Sir Stafford Northcote. The result may be guessed. No new circumstances whatever had occurred. The survey, only executed to the British frontier, had yielded favourable results. Out of 245 miles surveyed, 169 were found easy of construction, 35 moderate, and only 40 difficult, while the difficulties could be readily overcome. The country so far was unproductive and thinly peopled, but these facts were surmised beforehand. Those engaged reported unanimously in favour of continuing the exploration through Burmese territory in a direction which they indicated, though they pointed out some temporary difficulties barring a particular route. The country to be passed through was expected to be rich and populous, where labourers could be found to assist in the works, and where a line would be remunerative. The real part of the survey was indeed only to come. At once, however, Sir Stafford Northcote reversed the order of his predecessor, alleging the expense and the political complications, which had been previously disregarded. In his despatch of the 31st of October, he refers indeed to a phrase in Lord Cranborne's despatch, where political embarrassments are referred to as a possible reason for eventually relinquishing the scheme; but he fails to see that nothing new had occurred since Lord Cranborne positively decided to act. Thus Indian officialism has had its way, and for some years to come we shall be as wise as we are as to the practicability of a railway from Rangoon to Kiang-Hung.

By what is little less than a miracle, the defeat of the Rangoon and Kiang-Hung project has not insured the complete

closing of the question. Colonel Fytche,* last year, when about to negotiate a new treaty with Burmah, luckily bethought himself that while at the Burmese Court he might do what he could to open up the old Bamò route to Talifoo, for which a large section of the mercantile community of Rangoon was anxious. It is needless to say that his first proposal to that effect was flatly negatived by the Indian Government. Political embarrassments, the expense, and the impropriety of charging the revenues of India, were once more made to do duty in the sacred cause of *laissez-faire*. Colonel Fytche nevertheless returned to the charge, and played with great skill a new trump card which has turned up in favour of projectors during the last year. The French, who are planted at the mouth of the Cambodia, are less troubled than ourselves by the prospect of political embarassment. They have, accordingly, sent an expedition up the Cambodia with the view of opening up a path to Western China by this same town of Kiang-Hung. They have the advantage in their favour that the Cambodia is navigable all the way from Kiang-Hung to Saigon; but the distance is 1200 miles, and a port at the mouth of the Cambodia could never compete with Rangoon, to which the voyage from Europe is so much more easy. What all the efforts of projectors and subordinates have been unable to do, the presence of another Richmond in the field has effected. Colonel Fytche obtained the permission he desired, and, assisted by an exploring party, is by this time engaged in opening up, if possible, the road to Talifoo with every prospect of success.† The obstacles are only temporary—namely, the civil war in China, which has ended in Yunan with a victory of the Mohammedans, who are now eager enough to restore the interrupted trade. All that is necessary is to remove the obstacles caused by the neglect of the last few years. Of course, if a great trade can be brought on this line even by common roads, a new argument will be furnished for a railway. The explorations for this railway, Colonel Fytche is sanguine enough to think, might proceed at the same time, though that of course is a view in which the Indian Government and Sir Stafford Northcote cannot be expected to concur.

* The present Chief Commissioner at British Burmah, and successor to Colonel Phayre, under whom Dr Williams served as First Political Agent at the capital of Burmah proper.

† The reader of the preceding pages will at once recognise in the scheme here attributed to Colonel Fytche the plan and suggestions of Dr Williams, sketched out so early as 1860-61, and so far executed in 1863.

It is high time that an inquiry should be made as to the reasons for stopping at the threshold of the enterprise. Lord Cranborne's resolution was received with universal approval by the commercial world; and the necessity for giving a definite answer to those who memorialised him, which was the express ground of his action, still continues to exist. The time has come when we must ascertain definitely whether the bugbears conjured up in the region between us and China have any reality—whether, in fact, there are any difficulties which we are unable to remove. It must be repeated that all our interest lies in finding means to overcome or evade any difficulties if they do exist, and not, as the India Office will interpret it, in making them excuses for inaction. Above all, the matter must no longer be suffered to drop between offices and departments, but should be treated as an Imperial question. If India ought not to bear the whole expense, let the House of Commons be tested as to its willingness to vote the money, or give a guarantee for a railway. What the decision will be when the chances of promoting our China trade, and the necessity of rendering our merchantmen more secure in time of war, are considered, it is impossible to doubt. Regarding the route to be preferred, that is a question so much depending on the result of the surveys, that no opinion can be given; but there need be no doubt of our objects. To avoid transhipments, and secure the tea of China for an English port, a railway from Rangoon will in the long run be indispensable, though perhaps a sufficient beginning will be made by a railway from Mandalay or Bamò. But another object is equally important. India may be made the highway for mail and passenger traffic between China and Europe, and on its own account has a deep interest in quick communication with so important a customer as China. A direct road from Assam into China is therefore highly desirable. It may be impossible to take a road from the Dihong to the Yang-tse-kiang, as Sir Arthur Cotton recommends, but, according to a letter signed "G." in the 'Times' of 19th September, there seems no doubt that Bamò can be reached in this way. Between the Dihong and the Upper Irawaddi lies the Patkoi range of mountains, over which it seems a people called the Singphoos are in the habit of driving their cattle from Assam into the Hookoong valley of Burmah. This is evidence, in "G.'s" opinion, as the cattle in these parts are wretchedly feeble and emaciated, that the passes cannot be in any way precipitous. Through the Hookoong valley and to the Irawaddi the country

is not difficult, as testified by the researches of Captain Hannay some twenty-five years back. The descent to Bamò, when the Irawaddi is gained, would only be 100 miles, if China could not be reached higher up. Failing a road over the Patkoi range, there remains the old route of the Buddhist missionaries into China—namely, through Cachar and Munnipore to Bamò —which might now be improved for connecting the valleys of the Brahmaputra and Irawaddi. At the utmost, when an Assam railway is made, the further road into Western China by Munnipore and Bamò would be less than 500 miles; and if prolonged for some distance to a navigable part of the Yang-tse-kiang, would necessarily attract to it the passenger and mail traffic between China and Europe. So much once secured, we might look forward to a speedy prolongation of the line into the Chinese interior, and even to Shanghai, about 1500 miles off; and nothing less ought to be contemplated. It is possible we may be too late. The French are threatening us on the Upper Cambodia; but, as far as passengers and mails are concerned, we have more formidable rivals. In 1870 an Atlantic and Pacific Railway will be in existence, after which the shortest road between Europe and Japan will be by the United States. The same route will also come seriously into competition with our existing routes to Shanghai and Hong-Kong. To turn the tables, and prevent all chance of the route for our most important commerce lying through the United States, no other means are available than these roads into Western China which annoy so much the official world. But with Calcutta only ten days from Shanghai, as might be the case were there only a railway from the Brahmaputra to the Yang-tse-kiang, the United States route would be superseded. We might thus have Rangoon as the port of China, and India as the highway for passengers and mails. The prize would be a splendid one, and worthy of effort, even if the object were not vital to the welfare of the empire.

A New Route to China.

(*From the 'Shipping Gazette,' April* 1868.)

We have been recently favoured with a special communication from Captain Bowers, of the Royal Naval Reserve, who has reached Bamò by steamboat up the Irawaddi, and is one of the

exploring party of the expedition fitted out at Rangoon to discover the best practicable overland route from thence to China. The steamer arrived at Bamò on the 24th of February last, in little more than eight days, having accomplished the voyage without accident or difficulty of any kind. Captain Bowers says, that instead of the dangerous river represented, he found the Irawaddi quite an ordinary one for steam navigation. The current at no time exceeded two and a half knots, and flowed as smoothly as the Thames at Richmond. The two dreadful defiles turned out to be the safest part, having deep water all through.* The country is of remarkable beauty, and presented a marked contrast to the parched and sterile appearance it exhibited below Mandalay. The appearance, he says, of a steamer on the river was something exceedingly strange to the people, who came out of their villages, some of them prostrating themselves on the bank in an attitude of veneration. Wherever the vessel stopped to take in wood, crowds flocked on board, and their confidence and good temper appeared to know no bounds. An electric battery afforded immense amusement and wonder. The late rebellion seems to have been disastrous to the villages along the route, for they were occupied alternately by the hill tribes and the King's troops. Every third or fourth house is provided with a loom, at which some member of the family is generally seen at work, manufacturing cotton or silk tamines, or simple skirts. Unfortunately for the success of this mercantile expedition, there would appear to be a feud between the Burmese and the Kachens, or Kakhyeens, a hill tribe beyond Bamò. The last-named town is about a mile long by a quarter broad, with a stockade of teak round it, and bears traces of former importance. There is also a suburb at each end. Since the inroads of the Kachens the caravans have ceased to arrive from China, and the trade, which at one time was very extensive, has entirely ceased. Captain Bowers describes Bamò, Bamo, or, as it is pronounced by the natives, Bamain, as being situated on the left bank of the Irawaddi, about 180 miles to the N.N.E. of Mandalay. It forms part of the edge of a vast level plain some twelve miles in extent, and the district reaches to the base of the Kachen hills, ten or twelve miles distant, which is the limit of the Burman authority. The plain is a dense jungle, but bears evidence of once having been cultivated,† and the

* In all this there is the most thorough corroboration of the survey and statements of Dr Williams.

† See Dr Williams's Journal, *passim*.

streams through it lead to an impression that it has been permeated with canals for irrigating purposes. The houses in Bamò are invariably surrounded with a bamboo fence to keep out the wild beasts.* The main or high street is paved, and occupied chiefly by the Chinese, by whom all the business is transacted, and whose comfortable appearance presents a strong contrast to the miserable state of the Burmese. The latter are said to be indolent. They live, says Captain Bowers, in houses raised as though they were on stilts, being elevated on bamboo piles. As an excuse for idleness they declare that they are taxed heavily, and have to give one-tenth of the produce they raise or import to the King, no matter whether the season be good or bad. The Chinese, on the contrary, appear to be wealthy and prosperous. They live in houses built of bricks, and tiled; and, though their shops are small, they are laid out with considerable care. The Chinese merchants trade with the tribes adjoining—the Shans and Kachens—and also with Momien, on the Chinese frontier. These tribes enter Bamò with 50 to 100 laden mules and ponies, and barter their pigs, fowls, oil, copper kettles, lead, and yellow orpiment for salt and cleaned cotton. The cotton is made up into bales of 80 lb. each, and slung across the backs of the mules. These highlanders are not allowed to enter Bamò except by one or two at a time, and they must encamp outside the town. A bitter hostility exists between the Burmese and the hill tribes, the latter acknowledging no power but that of their chiefs. They hold the Burmese in extreme contempt, and murder them whenever they have the opportunity. The Governor of Bamò lately tried to enforce the King's tribute at a place three days' journey from the city, and he was besieged by the Kachens, who nearly starved out the whole guard. He tried to escape, but his retreat was discovered, and he only managed to get away with a few men. These are the kind of people through whose country the expedition will have to pass. A delay of more than a month had already taken place, through the jealousies of the Burmese and the hill tribes.† As there are seven of the hill chieftains to be propitiated between Bamò and Momien, it is the opinion of Captain Bowers that the staff are likely to be detained on the mountains during the rainy season, when

* It would appear from Dr Williams's Journal that the Kakhyeens were much more dreaded than the wild beasts.

† If this with a large and expensively-equipped party like that of Captain Sladen, there need be no wonder at the difficulties in the way of a single-handed explorer like Dr Williams.

every little stream will be turned into a torrent, and this in a hostile country. He says that the Chinese merchants at Mandalay, the capital of Burmah, who have correspondence with the traders at Bamò and other places on the route, have sent letters to their clients urging the propriety of waylaying and robbing the expedition, so that the English may not secure the trade, which, small as it is, they now have the monopoly of. These are the discouragements by which these mercantile pioneers are beset; but they have determined to persevere in the endeavours to re-open the once famous overland route to China. Besides the alleged, but not yet proven, hostility of the natives to Englishmen, the country is infested with tigers. The climate, however, is very healthy, the mornings being cool, the atmosphere clear, and the thermometer ranging from 44° to 88° Fahrenheit. On the 25th of February the expedition was to set out again, and were embarking their baggage in boats for ascending the river Taping, the next station. We may hope, therefore, that the tribes in the territories between Bamò and the Chinese frontier will see the necessity of extending trade through their possessions; and that though they may be at enmity with the King of Burmah, who claims sovereignty over them, they will extend their protection and afford aid to a purely commercial enterprise.

[This hope, we may add, has not unluckily been fulfilled; for by the latest news from Burmah it would appear that Sladen's party had got into quarrel with the Kakhyeens, who hemmed them in on all sides, and would permit neither of their advance nor of their retreat. It was also then rumoured that the King of Burmah, who has always shown his friendship towards this enterprise, had sent money to procure the ransom of the explorers. Should this prove true, the Government expedition, with all its appliances and expense, will have solved nothing that was not solved full five years ago by the comparatively unaided efforts of Dr Clement Williams.]

APPENDIX B.

The Burmese Drama.

The following are outlines of some of the pieces acted during my stay at Susceenah and Bamò, and may, along with those given in the text, be taken as average specimens of the Burmese drama, which exercises so widespread an influence on the minds and manners of the population :—

The Five Hundred Thieves.

This opens with the inevitable king asking his ministers whether his son has returned from his teacher. The next scene represents the prince dismissed by his teacher as perfect in knowledge ; and, with sundry admonitions for his future guidance, the teacher gives him 500 arrows and a bow, telling him not to lose or spend a single shaft till he gets home to his own country. Taking a few drops of blood from his own arm and a few from the arm of the prince, the teacher puts the mingled fluid in a shell, commanding him to take the same care not to spill it till he gets home, otherwise he should lose his life by his wife's hand.

The prince and his attendant start on their homeward journey, but by-and-by the blood in the shell gets troublesome, and the attendant proposes to throw it away. The prince consents, the shell is thrown on the ground, and instantly a young woman of surpassing beauty is seen standing before them. They are both struck with amazement, and question the young lady who and whence she is. She knows neither father nor mother, nor where she has come from ; but during the consternation, the attendant says aside, "Can she have sprung from the blood?" and the apparition in an undertone admits the fact to the attendant. The servant now observes that such an unrivalled beauty is only suitable for his master, and the young prince, dazzled by her attractions, falls violently in love with her ; and she, "the princess of the

mingled blood," nothing loath, accepts his love, and accompanies him on the way to his father's court.

A paddy-bird is seen overhead, and the young lady taking a longing for it tells the attendant to beg the prince to shoot it, but the lad says the bird is unclean, and refuses to obey. She goes to the prince herself, but gets a refusal. She persists, however, and makes the prince's compliance a test of his love for her. He yields, and forgetting the teacher's injunction, lets fly an arrow, but the bird catches it in his beak, snaps it in two, and drops it in the jungle. The prince now recollects his fault, and gets into a rage with his bride and attendant—sending the latter away, and quarrelling with the former. The lad wanders away into the land of the 500 thieves, who strip him, but ultimately admit him into their society. His thieving qualities are tested, and in doing this his nose gets a spear through it, and on the spear being withdrawn his face is covered with blood, and he speaks with a nasal twang, to the great amusement of the audience. He is presented to the chief of the band, and by the chief is made one of his officers.

The scene returns to the young pair in the wood, who quarrel terribly; the prince persecuting her of the "mingled blood," and ordering her to go and beg food for him. She remonstrates with him on the ground that it is not customary for the woman to beg for the man. She gets a beating, and discontentedly starts on her errand. She too falls in with the thieves, who strip her of all her ornaments. She speaks gently, however, and gets admission to the chief, who, enamoured of her good looks, readily gives her food, and that from his own dish. On her return the prince thinks the food merely left victuals, indignantly refuses it as unfit for a prince, and throws it away. The princess in vain remonstrates that beggars should not be choosers, and is sent away to procure more. She goes again to the robber chief, trusting that his evident feeling towards her will prompt him to give the desired freshly-cooked dinner. She tells him the necessity she is under of getting it fresh; he upbraids the cruelty of her husband, and declares he loves her better than the prince does. He exacts a promise that hereafter, should he and her husband meet in fight, she will give the knife to him should he call for it. She accedes, gets the fresh food, and returns with it to her ill-tempered lord.

The next scene is the attack of the whole band on the prince, who is asked to give up the princess of the mingled blood, but refuses. One after one falls to his charmed arrows, till 499 are slain, and the chief alone survives. The prince now bemoans his folly in spending the 500th shaft on the paddy-bird. His regret is in vain; the chief advances, demands the princess, is refused, then challenges and wrestles with the prince. In the struggle both beseech the princess to hand them the knife, and each holds out his hand for the expected weapon. After long hesitation, during which the fight becomes ludicrously tragic, she gives the knife to the robber, who plunges it into the heart of her husband. The chief has now the much-coveted princess; she has got rid of the persecuting husband, and wicked love is triumphant!

The chief, however, reflects aloud on the danger of trusting himself to a woman who has murdered her first husband, and seeks his safety in flight; while the princess, left alone, bewails her solitary condition. Two spirits of the sky observe her, and resolve to bring home to her heart the sin of which she has been guilty. One assumes the form of a dog, the other that of a kite. The princess is roasting a fish she has begged, when the dog appears with a better in his mouth. The princess, on seeing it, calls out to him to drop it, and runs after him; the kite pounces on the fish by the fire, and makes off with it, and she loses both. She sees the analogy between the two fish and her departed lord and present lover, and, struck with remorse and repentance, she joins the company of pious beggars who keep the laws of Buddha. As she slowly retires to the cloister, the audience, of course, can intrude no further: they rise and go home—edified, no doubt, by the obvious moral.

Padasayé.

This opens with the great King of Thawattie proposing to make Padasayé, the lovely daughter of a Thaté (baboo or banker), his South Queen. The ministers oppose it on the ground of her not being of a sufficiently high family; and the king, in respect to his throne, yields to their counsel.

The second scene shows a family group—Padasayé, her father, and mother; the parents saying they have heard rumours of her holding love-talk with their slave Thada, and that

they are indignant at the disgrace of such a thing. Padasayé denies the possibility of such a scandal, and wonders how people can talk so! The mother and daughter go out, and Thada the slave makes his appearance with something for his master. The old gentleman proceeds to examine him on the subject of the said rumour, but the slave is all surprise. How could his master imagine that he, a poor menial, dare look at a rich man's daughter! The father goes out on business, the daughter comes in, and she and Thada commence at once to their love-making. They talk of what the old folks have been saying, and he declares that he is resigned to his fate; he is but a slave, and Padasayé had better forget him, and marry young Mr Pynbun, whom both parents have chosen for her husband. The young lady, as perhaps intended by Thada, shows more sympathy than pride. She vows she cares for nothing but Thada, and her dear Thada's love!

In scene the third, the elected Pynbun presents himself at the house of the banker, and is invited by the kind old gentleman to go round to the west chamber, where he will find Padasayé. He does so, and meets with a polite reception from the young lady, who, however, interrupts his attentions by saying she does not like to be courted so directly, and thinks a go-between would be more proper. The swain remonstrates, as who in his place would not? but the young lady is firm, and insists on this or not at all. He submits, and asks who is to be go-between. She suggests their slave Thada as a specially trustworthy person, and fit to keep any secret. The poor lover is pleased, and goes away to solicit the good offices of Master Thada. The slave here does a good deal of clown's work, teasing Pynbun, who is young and green, but agrees at last to act as his go-between with Padasayé, promising to ask her love, to take her hand, and even to kiss her for Pynbun. The poor youth is a little shocked, but is calmed by Thada's assurance that of course the real kiss will be for him in the lady's mind. Thada then goes to Padasayé, is first sad, breaks out into a piteous song full of love and despair, but the young lady tells him how she contrived to procure their meeting, and that for the future he need not fear. She declares that she does not care for the wealthy Pynbun, but will flee with Thada, expressing her sentiments in passionate song. The melody is perhaps more expressive than sweet, but the prolonged wailing notes mingling with the rapid passages of the

song, and accompanied by sobs and tears, cannot but remind one who has ever been entranced by an opera that this is the genuine thing, though a little unpolished. At all events, it had the desired effect on the audience; and this, whether in Europe or in Burmah, is the highest aim of the artiste.

The two secret lovers having finished singing and gesticulating to each other, Thada introduces Pynbun, after telling him his successful mission with Padasayé. The young lady, who seems never to speak the truth, now tells her aspiring lover that she consents to love him, but proposes to elope. He, simple soul, cannot see the use of this when both parents approve of and wish for the match! She, on the other hand, paints the jolliness of a few days' gipsy honeymoon under the trees of the forest, after which they can return to their friends. Pynbun begins to enjoy the idea, and the start is arranged. She then tells him to go home and make a little bundle of his clothes while she is preparing in the same way, and on his return calls Thada to accompany them. Pynbun remonstrates—"two are company, three are not;" but he yields rather than submit to the alternative of carrying his own little bundle and her monstrous one on his shoulders. This difficulty over, Pynbun orders Thada to follow, but on Thada's complaining of this, the artful lady preaches to Pynbun about the foremost having first to encounter snakes, fall into pits, and tumble over everything that may lie in the way, and lastly persuades him to take the hindmost place in the path (all men and beasts in these parts go in regular Indian file). The young gentleman then orders the slave to go in front, and take the two bundles on his shoulders. Padasayé is appealed to, and tells Thada privately to do so, but to feign an inclination to run away with his burden. In a short while Pynbun gets anxious on losing sight of Thada, and calls out for him to stop and give him his bundles. The slave is but too glad to comply, and goes merrily along, unburdened and at the post of honour.

When they stop to rest, Thada is told to do the cooking, but Padasayé complains that she cannot eat the cooking of a slave, and asks her lord to prepare the food. He submits, and lets Thada make love while he attends to the pots. The natural consequence of all this is, that the young lady by-and-by finds herself in an "interesting condition," to the great horror of poor Pynbun, who has never yet been honoured even with a kiss. He consults Thada, and the slave-rascal affects to regard the

affair as a miraculous omen, that the young Pynbun about to be will undoubtedly become a great prince. "He has heard of such cases." Pynbun's vanity conquers what little sense he has, and he is now delighted. The lady, on their funds getting low, says they must sell Thada, and urges Pynbun to go quietly to a banker in a neighbouring town and propose for a sale. They proceed to draw out the bond, when Padasayé bethinks herself that her time is near, and suggests, as Pynbun cannot possibly do all the service required, that Thada be spared to her for a few days, and, in the mean time, that her lord should take his place at the banker's! This is more than even his stupid patience can bear; he begins to have his doubts of Padasayé's fidelity, but heroically declares that since she has served him so shamefully, he will e'en go to the banker's and become the slave. He goes, gets the bond drawn out for himself, and the treacherous Padasayé and her accomplice become the sellers.

Thada and Padasayé now take the money and go away, while the enslaved young man consoles himself with the philosophy of Buddhism and the spirit of the Law. The runaways stop at a village where the young lady is confined, but the head-man orders them to move on, as no vagrants are allowed. She takes her child, and with Thada seeks fortune in travel. By-and-by another child is born, and their difficulties increase. Thada becomes a woodcutter, and while out in the forest is bitten by a snake and dies. Wondering at his long delay, Padasayé goes forth to seek for him, and discovers him lying dead, with the snake-bite on his hand. She shrieks with horror, and, laying down her children, weeps long and loud over the body of her loved companion. She sings a doleful ditty, and, broken-hearted and penitent, resolves to return to her father's house. On her way she has to cross a deep river, and, putting down one child on the bank, she takes the younger across on her head, and lays it under a tree while she returns for the first-born. When in mid-stream an eagle swoops down on the infant. She tries to frighten it away by loud screams and gestures, and at the same time calls on the elder child to come towards her; but at this moment the eagle rises with the baby, and the other falls into the stream, and is drowned.

Disconsolate, she repeats her calamities, and goes on her way singing sadly. She meets some merchants, of whom she inquires whether they have been to her country, and whether

they know the banker who lives in the west quarter, and if he and his family are faring well? They had just come from the banker's, "but didn't you see a glare in the sky two days ago in that direction?" She assents. "Then that was the banker's house on fire; and he and his wife were burnt to death." The poor woman now becomes frantic, tears off her clothes, and sings and dances with the screams of a maniac. In this state she wanders into the monastery where Guadama is holding forth to his disciples; and the entrance of the mad woman gives him an opportunity of showing his omniscience. He tells her frail and sinful history, but in the spirit of his power and mercy restores her to right reason, and says she will become one of the blessed Rahandas. His discourse has the desired effect; her reason returns; she becomes a Rahanda on the spot; and in this happy condition of moral and spiritual elevation she withdraws, and the drama closes.

By not Sleeping, Life is Long.

The queen of the Tagoung king is in criminal love with a "Naga" (a kind of semi-human dragon), who visits her in the palace garden, and who, at her instigation, makes away with her husband. At the same time there was at a neighbouring place a young man, Moung Pouk Chan, studying under a teacher, but what with his own idleness and stupidity, and the indifference of the tutor, he made no progress; and when the time for his return arrived, he had learned absolutely nothing. (Learning, as the Burmese understand it, is simply getting by rote.) The teacher addressed him, saying, "You have learned nothing; but before you go I will teach you one short sentence that may be useful to you through life." The pupil replies that he is grateful and will learn. "Very well then, listen! *By not sleeping, life is long.*"

M. P. Chan repeats this formula till he has got it by heart, and having done so the teacher dismisses him, and he passes through Tagoung on his way home. The several successors of the late king had all died on the night of their elevation to the throne, and the ministers, unable to find a candidate among the higher classes, and anxious to save themselves from such a dangerous honour, determine to elect the first poor wayfarer they meet with. They fall in with M. P. Chan, who has to give an account of himself, and who has sufficient philosophy

to decline the honour they tell him he is destined to. The actors make some fun out of this interview. The ministers are desirous of hearing the discourse of a pupil of the celebrated teacher, and bid him preach to them. He repeats his formula. They don't seem to notice it, but repeat their request, and he as often repeats his lesson. This goes on till the joke is worn out, when the persuasion to accept the crown is effected with blows and threats, and M. P. Chan's love for a quiet life is violently overcome.

He is duly installed, has the sacred water poured over him, and is introduced to the queen. His lesson is yet fresh, and he does not sleep. By-and-by he sees the queen rise up and retire. His curiosity is excited, and he follows her unseen to the garden, where he overhears her telling the Naga that the ministers have given her another husband, and that she hopes he will serve this one as he has served the others. The Naga bids her have no fear on that account, as the new man will speedily follow his predecessors. M. P. Chan has heard enough, and, leaving the guilty pair in the garden, returns to his chamber, makes a model of himself in wax, and lays it down in the palace bed. By-and-by the Naga and his paramour come in softly, and the latter points to the sleeping figure of the supposed bridegroom. The Naga springs at it, buries his great teeth in the waxen model, but there he sticks fast. M. P. Chan attacks the now defenceless Naga, and by repeated stabs despatches him. In the morning the ministers are delighted to find him alive and the Naga dead, affording proof of the unnatural love of the queen. A council of state is held, and the guilty woman is condemned to death. In the interim she employs herself in making the Naga's skin into a pillow, and one of his long bones into a hair-pin, giving a thousand pieces of silver for the skinning and a hundred for the pillow.

When M. P. Chan tells her she must die, she says she is in his hands, to do as he pleases, but proposes that he should solve a riddle which she would give, and she one that he should propound, and whoever is unable to solve their puzzle should be the party to suffer death. He, considering that he is a man, and she a woman, agrees. She propounds; our hero is at a loss. There are ten days given for the solution; still he cannot unravel, and none of the ministers can assist him. The seventh day arrives, and the country rings with the news

of the near approach of the unsolved riddle and consequent death of the young king.

The father and mother of M. P. Chan, missing him, hear from the teacher of his departure from school, and resolve to follow him. One day they were resting and eating under a tree, when two crows came and waited for their "leavings." The crows' language was understood by the old man, and one was heard to say to the other, "Where shall we feed to-morrow?" "Oh, to-morrow there will be a feast!" "How?" And the dialogue goes on till the story of M. P. Chan's riddle and expected death is unfolded to the anxious parents below. They set off in hot haste for Tagoung, arrive, and are introduced to their son, the king. Their homely congratulations are made to afford much fun. They say, "Chan, give us a bullock, you are so rich now," and shock his vanity and the decorum of the palace.

M. P. Chan is very sad, however, and by-and-by the father asks the reason, and the tale of the riddle is told. The old man repeats the explanation he heard from the crows, and his son is in ecstasy. The queen is sent for, and in presence of the ministers M. P. Chan explains the riddle, and, as a proof, makes the queen produce the pillow and the hair-pin. The queen has lost, but the young king, who has already tasted of the ordeal of death, determines to save her life, and banishes her to Khyanmyat. There she gives birth to several little Nagas, who are killed by the king's orders, and also to two little boys, who, though they have the Naga's influence imprinted on them, are saved because they are both born blind. The king, by the advice of the ministers, decides to embark them on a raft, and to let them float down the Irawaddi to the ocean.

The story then resolves itself into that of Mahabalah and Sekabalah, the two blind boys, and who, after being found and healed by the Beloos, are stranded at Prome, and ultimately become the founders of that kingdom.

THE END.

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